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Bulgaria: Reflections on 40th Anniversary
of Socialist Revolution

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EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
BULGARIA: REFLECTIONS ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY
OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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SOBER, REALISTIC APPROACH TO YOUNG MINDS URGED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 102-104

[Article by Sonya Bakish: "As I Think of Those Who Will Come After Us." The author is the wife of Stanko Todorov, Politburo member and National Assembly Presidium chairman]

[Text] Somewhere in the tender fog of the past, somewhere in the deep folds of our hearts a song, a legend, a poem lies hiding. We carry within us familiar or unfamiliar images of people who have captivated us with their purity and readiness for sacrifice. They are all subconscious props which give us faith and strength.

In some families in the past, sweet-talking grandmothers or grandfathers or far-sighted parents instilled in the emotional memory of the child the indicators of life. It was as though imperceptibly this led to the growth of attachment to family and homeland, to great ideas and to a yearning for freedom and social justice.

In our days a spring which transferred from the adults to the young some eternal truths of life is drying up.

Time changes many things. Life within the family has changed as well. The grandparents are no longer so close to their grandchildren. The parents are busier outside the home and they sometimes fill with trifles the time they owe their children.

The young are also different, and we can get closer to them only with a more contemporary and mature approach.

I sometimes ask myself what early memories will many of today's children carry with them in later life?

The wise concern of not discussing everything in front of the children has become dulled. I do not know the extent to which we think about the discussions in which we unconsciously engage. Some of my acquaintances unceremoniously share at home petty happenings, gossip or unpleasant job-related events. What emerges from their colorful, subjective tales is that half of Dad's or Mom's colleagues are "stupid," or "toadies," or that thus and such is advancing only because she is always around the boss; or else that thus and such was able to bring a lot of stuff from abroad or that the boss's cottage is truly horrible....

The uncritically absorbing ears of the children hear a great deal of things from their parents. And it is thus that something terrible imperceptibly enters the home. Sons and daughters begin to develop twisted views of people or events. They hear us and they observe improper actions whether committed by us or others. Frequently the individual negative case develops into negative associations and summations. What about the immoderate and uncritical praise of anything foreign? Does this not harm our national pride and create an inferiority complex?

I do not object to the fact that what is being shared under the family roof may contain quite a number of bitter truths. But why not be aware of the type of conversations we hold in front of our children and the fact that we are destroying our reputation and that of society?

The young need truthful information about the good people around us, about their qualities and accomplishments, both past and present. It is an old truth that the best example triggers good thoughts and high aspirations.

The moment we begin to worry about the education of the growing generation we frequently have the feeling of being somewhat late. We have missed that fresh and early period when the 4-5-year-olds begin to absorb and remember for a lifetime things which have been presented to them in a suitable manner and which later we will try to instill in them. Naturally, some parental omissions are corrected later, sometimes successfully and sometimes not, by the organizations for children and youth and the schools. However, the initial vacuum cannot be filled.

It is no trouble if entertainment songs, names of singers and soccer players and the best-known brands of blue jeans are instilled in the young from an early age. It is a real trouble, however, when that is all and we have failed to sow on time the early shoots of that which makes us Bulgarians and patriots and citizens of a socialist society.

We excessively worry about the school grades of our children and instill in them that nothing is more important! However, do we show adequate interest in what constitutes and how to develop a value system in those we have created and are educating? What do they consider as a priority, as something truly irreplaceable in a real human existence?

The approaching 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution takes me back to a frequently gnawing thought of the harm caused by the neglected quantitative and qualitative amount of materials and steps dedicated to great historical anniversaries and to our contemporary times. By exaggerating in the press and on the radio and television, at meetings and with reports and articles memories of the antifascist struggle and our unquestionable present-day successes the results we obtain are frequently the opposite of what we expect. Fed up with listening over and over again to the same things, frequently presented in a boring or falsely pathetic tone, the young person simply blocks from his mind that which we would like to instill in him. It is as though, deliberately or not, a certain inner opposition is developed which hinders the efforts to shape a progressive outlook.

Clumsy propaganda belittles and makes even the greatest topics dull and ordinary. Yet, because of their loftiness and profound involvement with the people's fate the revolution and its extension during days of peace do not tolerate empty talk, false enthusiasm or embellishments.

The inner antennae of the young listener and reader are sharp. They always detect any avoidance of the truth, for as is the case in all human affairs, in struggle and peaceful life there are peaks and valleys, there are bright and dull periods. Here and there, alongside exploits and self-sacrifice we see disparities between words and actions, egotism and fear, self-promotion, hypocrisy, careerism and various other unethical actions.

Efforts to conceal shady sides of life, known to all, repel the youth. The minuses which we fear when we hesitate openly to speak are far greater than the pluses. This is because the young can assess the mature truth and to judge it accurately. I remember how excited my young friends were when the book by David Ovadiya on Levanevski restored the reputation of this young hero who had been unfairly slandered and ignored.

Mankind is so structured that in addition to general information we are interested in the individual destinies of people and in their intimate world. Features and actions which may appear commonplace on the surface give a human dimension to those who have become noted in the struggle, in labor and in social life, both elevating and reducing them in our eyes.

I would be unable to recall all details of the revolutionary path of Vasil Levski. However, something which always touches me is when I remember the little notebook in which the Apostle recorded conscientiously and in detail every single penny he spent of public funds.

I thought that I had read all there was to read about Ivan Kozarev, the first Bulgarian partisan. Yet it was only recently that I learned that in jail he tried to make a little purse for his daughter Roza, with materials on hand.

Some people may describe such things as trifles when compared to the bloody battles and inhuman tortures which parallel the revolutionary struggle or with the stress and tremendous responsibility assumed by many people in building socialism. However, I have noted that frequently it is precisely such "petty matters" that have the power of captivating the youth. This applies not only to general statements but to individual characteristic features which make every member of the collective unique.

The charm of a personality does not come from idealizing it but from the skillful description of supreme moments in a human fate, when the will to remain loyal to one's ideal sets everything else aside.

Sometimes those who fought for the people's freedom or social advance, who are zealously described as the bearers of just about all virtues, may leave us indifferent, for we do not feel them as real people. To the young they sometimes appear fabricated, fictitious rather than simple men and women like the rest of us, with their weaknesses and errors. However, these were people

who were firmly ready to give everything of themselves if so required by the times and events. From this viewpoint we see that exploit and self-sacrifice are not the patent of some supermen but of people who had ideals and the aspiration to implement them.

People feel the need to revere a great idea or to personify a cause linked to certain personalities. Let us recall how many of us came to the communist ideas through the charm of a member of the RMS or the party.

This applies not only to times of clandestinity but times of peace as well. Our contemporaries are always exigent toward those whom they have enhanced in their own minds and justifiably demand of them to set an example in everything.

Many of us zealously look at the daily life of the fighters who lived to see freedom and all those who were pushed upward by the crest of events. Their behavior under different circumstances and the actions of the members of their families are judged. We determine whether or not they respect the moral values of the socialist ideal and observe the laws which must be observed by all citizens.

I have noticed, for example, that sons and daughters of people of merit are not forgiven actions which are ignored in other young people.

There is a certain justice in demanding more of those to whom more has been given. In the way that the individual outstanding personality leads others, improper actions of responsible people repel. They may lead to erroneous summations which can benefit only the enemies of socialism, for let us not forget that in the case of less stable people the brightness of an ideal may sometimes burn out with the breakdown of illusions.

I ask myself if there are people in general who can claim with clear consciences that they have never disappointed someone else in any of their actions. This is not likely! However, it is mandatory to have the aspiration to live in such a way as to always be able to look our own children and other young people in the eye.

The readers must have already noticed that all of this is a set of brief and scattered thoughts. The problem of how to involve those who follow us in the progressive ideas and causes must be considered from many aspects. This complex process awaits a mature and more contemporary approach, closer to the world perception of the young so that we can rest assured that the behests of those who died and the efforts of those who are building socialism will be suitably taken up by the new generations.

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LEADERS ASSESS ACHIEVEMENTS IN CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

Values of Socialist Revolution

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 3-19

[Article by Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the NRB (Bulgarian People's Republic) Council of Ministers; this entire issue of NOVO VREME is devoted to the 40th anniversary of the 9 September revolution]

[Text] With a feeling of worthy pride the Bulgarian people are celebrating their greatest event in the 13-century history of their state--the victory of the socialist revolution, which marked the beginning of a new era for Bulgaria--the era of socialism and communism.

For the past 40 years, guided by its tried and battle-tested political vanguard--the Bulgarian Communist Party--the working people in our homeland are confidently following the path of building a socialist social system. Along this way they surmounted a number of difficulties and achieved remarkable successes by converting Bulgaria from one of the economically most backward agrarian countries in Europe to a country with modern industry and large-scale mechanized socialist agriculture and great social and cultural gains for the population, which place it in one of the leading positions in the world. As a firm link in the world socialist community, headed by the great Soviet Union, it is making a substantial contribution to the growth of its power and is actively participating in the struggle for the strengthening of global peace and the development of the global revolutionary process.

The historical experience of the Bulgarian people and its political vanguard, the BCP, which brought about the victory of the 9 September Revolution and socialism and the current stage in building a developed socialist society, is rich in permanent values--the result of the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the universal historical experience of the CPSU by the BCP under specific Bulgarian conditions. These values are a contribution to the theory and practice of building socialism and the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. They are our great national capital and the deserved pride of every Bulgarian communist and Bulgarian citizen.

The main permanent value of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was the establishment of the power of the victorious proletariat and the working people, with the active and leading role of the working class and its communist vanguard. This is the main problem of all socialist revolutions and a

decisive prerequisite for the transition from capitalism to socialism and for building a new socialist society.

The seizure of political power was the result of the victorious 9 September uprising which was a national revolutionary cause in the true meaning of the word. The uprising marked the beginning and a decisive aspect of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. It was a repetition of the essential features of the October Revolution, its extension under Bulgarian conditions and part and manifestation of the great global transition from capitalism to socialism. Its victory meant the triumph of the Fatherland Front, which was created under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The establishment of the system of the Fatherland Front brilliantly confirmed on Bulgarian soil as well the strength and vital truth of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. It was a contribution made by the Bulgarian people to the great cause of the transformation of the world under the banner of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The 9 September victory was the result of the proper strategy and tactics of the BCP and its ability creatively to make use of the common laws of the socialist revolution and the historical experience of the CPSU. Marxism-Leninism enabled the party properly to assess the ratio of class forces, accurately to determine the ways, means and stages of the class struggle and properly to formulate the tasks of the revolution in its various stages. All of this ascribed a specific nature of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The ability of the BCP creatively to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism is an exceptionally important tradition started by Dimitur Blagoev. It was strengthened and developed by Georgi Dimitrov, under whose leadership the party was rearmed with the ideas of Leninism and transformed into a party of new Leninist type, a process which began under the powerful influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Thanks to the ability of the BCP creatively to apply the Marxist-Leninist principles and the experience of the Great Leninist Party, it was able to develop and practically apply a specific approach to the maturing objectively socialist-type revolution but under the circumstances of a fascist dictatorship which had lasted for over 20 years under different aspects. The first effort, which was made in September 1923, failed. However, the revolutionary experience which was acquired then was of great importance in the development of the party and the revolutionary process. It was continued and developed particularly in the struggle for the creation of the Fatherland Front. As a result of the systematic implementation of the political line of rallying all democratic and, during World War II, all true patriotic forces, by the BCP, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, enabled the party to become the most influential political force not only in the cities, among the working class, but also in the villages, among the toiling rural masses and among the tremendous majority of the Bulgarian people.

It was precisely the existence of a unified working class, headed by the party, and the strong alliance between workers and not only poor but middle-level peasantry and the conversion of the Fatherland Front into a powerful

national movement that ensured the decisive nature and depth of the 9 September national uprising and made possible, in the exceptionally favorable situation of the advance of the Soviet army in the Balkans, with its liberation mission, to exceed the framework of bourgeois democracy and to open the way to building socialism in Bulgaria and to lay the beginning of the era of socialism and communism.

Bulgaria is one of the few people's democracies in which the nationwide struggle for a democratic program of struggle against fascism and the Hitlerite enslavers was crowned with a decisive victory and the establishment of a people's democratic regime which, from its very start, began successfully to perform the functions of proletarian dictatorship.

The experience of the BCP in the building, strengthening and establishing of the people's democratic regime as a form of proletarian dictatorship is an exceptionally important scientific and topical political significance. Under the conditions of a multiparty political system, new forms of practical implementation of the leading role of the working class and the communist party had to be discovered and applied. The implementation of this overall main law of the socialist revolution and of building socialism was further complicated by the difficulties of the postwar period.

The BCP experience proved that proletarian dictatorship does not exclude a multiple-party system and even the temporary existence of opposition parties. However, it confirmed the fact that the basic and essential feature in strengthening and developing people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship is not the broadening and perpetuating of a multiple-party system but strengthening the ideological-political and moral unity of the people and enhancing the leading role of the working class and the communist party. The changes in the socioclass structure and in the awareness and behavior of the different classes and social groups in terms of their attitude toward the prospects of the country's development toward socialism, occurring in the course of the development of the revolutionary process, eliminate the objective foundations for the existence not only of opposition parties but even some parties within the Fatherland Front.

Another permanent value of the socialist revolution in laying the foundations for socialism is the specific solution of the main problem of "Who-whom? Socialism or capitalism?" in the economic area. Based on the common nature of the people's democratic and the Soviet system in the main and decisive features and the fact that these are two forms of proletarian dictatorship, the party drew the exceptionally important conclusion of the need of all-round study and most extensive utilization of the experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union. This experience "consistent with our conditions," Georgi Dimitrov emphasized, "is the only, the best model of building socialism in our country as well as in the other people's democracies."¹

The principal steps taken by the people's democratic system as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat were socialist, although they were not predominating. The basic step in this area was the nationalization of industry, which took place as early as December 1947. In this connection,

Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that it would be erroneous "to overestimate the importance of the general democratic problems resolved by our revolution and to consider them as problems of a bourgeois democratic revolution," and, on this basis, draw erroneous conclusions "on the existence of two stages in the development of the class nature and tasks of our people's regime."²

The discovery and use by the BCP of the TKZS [labor cooperative farms] as the most suitable organizational, economic and political form of socialist reorganization of agriculture in a country with a petty private ownership farming, without any preliminary nationalization of the land, was a new contribution to the theory and practice of the building of socialism and a lasting value of the socialist revolution.

The Bulgarian people are deservedly proud of the fact that Bulgaria was the first among the people's democracies which resolved fully the most difficult and complex task of the transitional period--the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the full victory of socialist production relations in the entire national economy--as early as the end of 1957.

Laying the material and technical foundations for socialism and establishing and maintaining stable and high rates of socioeconomic development in the country were a tremendous lasting gain of our socialist revolution. Our experience confirmed the accuracy of the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulation to the effect that any socioeconomic system may develop only on the basis of its own material and technical base consistent with the system. This equally applies to socialism. The creation of the material and technical base of socialism was a decisive prerequisite and objective law not only for the preservation of the socialist gains but for our overall development toward socialism and communism. For that reason, during all stages of building socialism in Bulgaria the BCP raised the question of laying the material and technical foundation as a major problem of its global strategy of building a socialist society.

The stipulation of the classics of Marxism-Leninism of the great role of large-scale machine industry in all economic sectors was the theoretical foundation in laying the material and technical base for socialism in Bulgaria. It was on this basis and by using the experience of the Soviet Union that at its Fifth Congress the BCP approved the general party line of building socialism in Bulgaria. This was the creative concretizing and development of the Leninist plan of laying the material and technical foundations in Bulgaria under the new conditions and in the new stage of development of the global revolutionary process.

The availability of Soviet aid, the creation of the world socialist system and the organization of CEMA in 1949 not only facilitated and accelerated the process of laying the material and technical foundations for socialism in our country but also gave to this process a specific innovative nature of lasting value.

The April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, which elaborated and approved a scientific Marxist-Leninist strategy for the country's economic development, played a historical role in laying the material and technical foundations for

socialism in our country. One of the greatest merits of the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum was the firm rejection of the erroneous and harmful concept and practice of the cult of personality according to which Bulgaria did not need heavy industry but was to specialize above all in agriculture and light industry. This totally conflicted with the overall laws governing the building of socialism and the country's specific conditions. Based on the resolutions of the plenum and with the decisive support of the Soviet Union, the BCP introduced a clear understanding of the implementation of socialist industrialization and accurately resolved the question of the position of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the international socialist division of labor within CEMA. A strategy was formulated for the accelerated development of heavy industry as a base for the efficient development of the entire national economy and strengthening the positions of the working class as the leading force in our society. Socialist industrialization began to be implemented properly in accordance with the natural resources, economic possibilities of both our country and the socialist camp.³

The result of the April economic strategy was Bulgaria's specialization in the production of electric cars and telphers and the development of modern industrial sectors such as electronics and instrument manufacturing, the building of the metallurgical combine in Kremikovtsi, the industrial complex in Devnya, the petrochemical combine in Burgas, the Maritsa-Iztok Energy Complex, the nuclear electric power plant and hundreds of other heavy industry enterprises. At the same time, the April economic strategy ensured the stable development of light industry and agriculture. The establishment of APK [agroindustrial complexes] and the NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union] provided extensive possibilities for the application of industrial methods and technologies and the achievements of science and technology in agricultural production.

Thanks to the April economic strategy and the proper solution of the key problem of socialist accumulations it was precisely during the period of the April renovation that a sectorially and territorially firm and well-balanced material and technical base was laid. This was confirmed by the growth of productive capital in the national economy which, based on initial value, had reached 94,300,000,000 leva by the end of 1983 or a nearly tenfold increase compared to 1952. In 1983 industry accounted for 67.6 percent of the gross national product and 55.9 percent of the national income. The fact that the production of productive capital (group "A" in industry) had increased between 1939 and 1983 by a factor of 238 is another confirmation of the success achieved in the country's industrialization.⁴ All of this indicates that our country already has a material and technical base for its own socialist social system. This has made possible radical changes in the country's aspect. From a previously agrarian backward country, today Bulgaria is in the leading ranks of industrial-agrarian states showing a stable and dynamic development.

Regardless of such truly great and pleasing successes in laying the material and technical foundations, guided by the innovative and critical spirit of the April line, the BCP Central Committee discovered the existence of a certain contradiction between the level which had been reached in laying the

material and technical foundations and the new strict requirements which the building of mature socialism formulates in terms of the development of production forces and social labor productivity. The current level of development of the material and technical base does not allow the full manifestation of social relations inherent in mature socialism and in bringing to light its advantages in all realms of life and, particularly, in reaching a social labor productivity higher than that of capitalism, thus meeting more fully and comprehensively the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

The solution of this contradiction can be accomplished only with the building of a material and technical base consistent with a developed socialist society, which will offer extensive opportunities for the full display of its historical advantages. This means "to lay a material and technical foundation...on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress and to act firmly on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution."⁵ Such is the path toward which we are guided by the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the subsequent BCP Central Committee plenums, a path which is being comprehensively formulated and interpreted in the speeches, reports, statements and lectures of Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leader. These works are essentially the further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the material and technical base of socialism. Our experience proves that socialism can manifest all of its advantages not on the basis of any large-scale machine output at all but on the basis of automated production, the use of electronics, robotics, cybernetics and intellectual work.

With a view to resolving the basic and fundamental task in terms of our development--laying a material and technical foundation consistent with mature socialism--the 12th Congress reworked the question and drew the party's attention to ensuring the intensive development of the economy and the other areas of social life and the all-round and comprehensive intensification, based on the rapid utilization of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, comprehensive automation and mechanization and extensive utilization of leading foreign and domestic experience.

The long-term program for improving quality, which defined the main trends in upgrading production quality and work everywhere and in all matters, was the most complete concentrated expression of the April economic strategy and the contemporary decisive stage in the struggle for building mature socialism, adopted at the 1984 National Party Conference. We can firmly say that the elaboration of the complex and difficult problems of building the material and technical base consistent with the mature socialist society is one of the greatest achievements in the development of our party's theoretical thinking and a lasting value in the theory and practice of building socialism and communism.

Another lasting value of our socialist revolution is the shaping of the socialist economic base and making production relations consistent with the nature of production forces. This means that a socialist production method was established in Bulgaria and that socialism achieved a definitive and irreversible victory in all fields of life.

The establishment of socialist production relations means the elimination, once and for all, of the exploitation of man by man and basing production relations on comradely cooperation and mutual aid and work for oneself and for one's own state.

The realm of action of the economic laws of socialism was broadened with the victory of socialism and the establishment of a socialist national economic system. The basic economic law of socialism, the law of planned and proportional development of the national economy, along with other laws, acquired possibilities of unlimited development. The socialist principle of distribution of material goods "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work" is a great accomplishment of the socialist society. For the first time in the development of human society equal wages are paid for equal labor. This is the most equitable distribution of material goods. That is why this principle will be applied with increasing strictness and all efforts at equalization will be rejected. "At this stage there is no and can be no other equality such as an unequal division of a single pie. This cannot and will not take place. We shall divide our pie not in equal portions but according to the merits of those who have participated in its baking."⁶

The development of socialist ownership in its two forms rests at the basis of the improvement of socialist production relations and the entire system of social relations and the enhancement of the socialist consciousness of the socialist working people. The party program, which was adopted at the 10th Party Congress, stipulates that in the course of building a mature socialist society both forms of ownership will be developed. They will influence each other and interpenetrate in the course of the creation of a single socialist ownership of the whole people.

In analyzing the development of this process, Comrade Todor Zhivkov indicates that in the decade which has passed following the adoption of the BCP program substantial changes have taken place in terms of concentrating state ownership, which offers great opportunities for production specialization and cooperation and for pursuing a unified scientific and technical policy, as well as in the development of cooperative ownership. The nature of cooperative ownership experienced a qualitative change following the development of agroindustrial complexes and the National Agroindustrial Union. Although it has not developed into nationwide ownership such as state ownership, it has stopped being the old cooperative ownership. The conclusion drawn by Comrade Todor Zhivkov that in Bulgaria the "cooperative and state forms of ownership are already very close to each other,"⁷ and that essentially cooperative ownership is already "ownership of the whole people with some still unsurmounted specific features"⁸ is of unquestionable value in the experience of the BCP and its contribution to the theory and practice of building socialism. The grounds for this conclusion are the following: the unification of economic conditions under which economic organizations work in industry and agriculture, their identical attitude toward the plan and the budget, the identical principle of forming and distributing income among the working people, the equalization of conditions under which the working people benefit from social gains such as annual paid leave, maternity leave, pensions, temporary disability payments, monthly supplements for children, and others.

"The true owner of both forms of ownership by the right granted by the people," Comrade Todor Zhivkov concludes, "is the socialist state."⁹ This means that we are developing the type of maturity of socialist production relations which is essentially characteristic of developed socialism.

The development and improvement of both forms of ownership, the integration between industrial and agricultural production and the increasing application of industrial methods and technologies in agriculture are leading to essential quantitative and qualitative changes in the socioclass structure of our socialist society. Our experience has indicated that the struggle for the victory, building and development of socialism is inseparable from the struggle for a qualitative change in the structure, attitude and status of the classes in society and the development of a socioclass structure of an entirely new socialist type and its establishment and steady advancement. Today the working class in our country has become the largest, dominant and leading social force. The intelligentsia as well is growing quantitatively. The number of agricultural workers is declining in absolute and relative terms. However, they are providing a significantly greater volume of agricultural commodities compared with the past. No less important are the qualitative changes which have taken place in the structure of the working class and the agricultural working people under socialism. The increasing application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in industry and agriculture is leading to the gradual elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor and the use of industrial technologies, agricultural production mechanization and integration with industrial production led to a significant elimination of disparities between nonagricultural and agricultural labor and way of life and between town and country as a whole. All of this proves the successful development, significant advancement and steady intensification of the process of development of our society toward social homogeneity, which is the base for strengthening the unity within the Bulgarian people. The establishment of a socioclass structure of a new type is one of the main historical gains of real socialism in our country as well as a basic factor and powerful booster of its comprehensive social progress.

The radical reorganization of spiritual life and the shaping of a new social and individual awareness and a new socialist culture are great accomplishments of our socialist revolution. In this process our party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles of cultural revolution, the experience of the CPSU and our own experience, and the remarkable thought expressed by Georgi Dimitrov according to which culture does not recognize small or big nations and that every nation can make a worthy contribution to the treasury of world culture.

One of the historical merits of the BCP is that it was able to combine within an inseparable entity the age-old struggle waged by the people for spiritual advancement with the Marxist ideas of the revolutionary reorganization of society. By synchronizing and extending the traditions of Blagoev and Dimitrov, the April Plenum unleashed the tremendous creative possibilities and the energy of the people for the sake of the communist ideas and ideals, which brought about remarkable successes in the field of Bulgarian socialist culture.

The political concepts of the working people are of the greatest importance among all superstructural views in building a socialist society. The collective successes achieved in the development of the economy, science, education, culture and social relations would have been impossible without the high-level political consciousness of the masses and we would have been unable to resolve the difficult problems which arise in the stage of building mature socialism. That is why the steady advancement of the mass political consciousness and the shaping of a political approach in resolving the social problems which face us are both a gain and a steady task of the party. This means that a social activity must be politicized. It must be considered from the viewpoint of the struggle waged by the working class and the communist party for building a communist society. "In this manner," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, "under socialist conditions every citizen becomes inevitably and naturally politicized. He shows a live interest in and cannot remain indifferent to events in the country and to the development of the national economy and society at large."¹⁰

The political approach has quite a broad field of manifestation. It goes way beyond the framework of its traditional meaning. It is used not only in resolving "purely" political problems but also in expressing the manner in which the political power is used in resolving arising social problems and how and the extent to which the individual citizen and labor collective relates his social activity with the objectives and tasks of the party and the interests of society, and the means earmarked for the political support and practical solution of such problems. We can speak of a developed political awareness of the masses only and to the extent to which they not only acknowledged socialism in words but advance it practically through their activities and do everything possible to develop and to enrich it, and to prepare for the conditions for its conversion to communism.

The sum total of all forms of socialist social consciousness determines its ideological sphere and expresses the nature of the ideological awareness of society, based on the mastery of Marxist-Leninist ideology--the most significant ideological value of a socialist society. Today Marxist-Leninist ideology is dominant in our society, i.e., it is a manual for action and for the management of social processes and phenomena. It implements this function thanks to the fact that its changes, guided by the party, accurately reflect the laws of development of nature and society.

In order to acquire the necessary value, Marxist-Leninist ideology must conquer the individual awareness of all socialist workers. It must become a conviction, an outlook directly related to the practical activities of the people. To this effect the party has always provided the necessary conditions under which the people not only become acquainted with Marxist-Leninist ideology as a theoretical system but convert it into their credo, their conviction, their behavioral motivation, confirming its theoretical concepts through practical activities. It is only thus that Marxist-Leninist ideology can operate as the highest possible spiritual value which plays a prime role in the process of building a mature socialist society.

Another lasting value of our socialist revolution was the creation of a socialist organization of public production and labor. Today this organization is maximally developing in our country in accordance with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism.

The decision of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum of surmounting the cult of personality and ensuring the strictest possible observance of the norms and principles of party and economic management and a creative approach to the work and the elimination of subjectivism and voluntarism in decision-making was a particularly important stage in resolving this problem. The question of introducing a new national economic management system, which was formulated and resolved on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's initiative in 1963, was a major event in the development of the Leninist doctrine of the conscious planned and scientific management of the building of socialism. This development is based on Lenin's concept that improving economic management and social processes is an objective necessity determined by the steady development of production and society. This necessity was already extant. The victory of socialism was a reality and our country was entering a new stage--the building of a developed socialist society. Our party met this requirement promptly, thus proving its farsightedness and creative application of Marxism-Leninism. It was essentially able to create the type of management system and economic mechanism which were maximally consistent with the period of building a developed socialist society under our conditions, the requirements of its objective development laws and the solution of related historical problems of building socialism in Bulgaria.

At the present stage the party is essentially engaged in a major reform in the area of management, which we conventionally describe as the "new economic approach and new economic mechanism." The purpose of this reform is to offer even broader scope of action for the objective laws of building developed socialism; to create a strong and accelerating impetus for the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions; to make full use of social relation advantages; and to enhance to a higher level the development of man--the main productive force.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the base of the current economic approach and its mechanism. The purpose is optimally to combine centralism with democratism. Our experience confirms Lenin's statement that socialism which essentially means "building a centralized economy" cannot properly function "without the unity of will which binds all working people within a single economic body operating with the precision of a clock."¹¹ Our experience also proves that the introduction of the new economic approach and its mechanism not only does not reduce but strengthens the democratic principle in economic management.

The theoretical formulation developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the owner and manager of socialist property is of fundamental significance in optimally combining centralism and democratism in management through the new economic approach and its mechanism. The concept that the state is the owner and the production collective of the economic organizations, the manager, enables us to organize on a scientific basis the solution of the problem of the rights and obligations of the owner and the manager and their interrelationship.

This offers increasing opportunities for labor collectives to become the true good managers of socialist property, to manage it with maximal efficiency and to multiply and develop it in the interests of the state, the people and their own enterprises.

The formulation of the owner and manager of socialist ownership enables us to combine in a new and more favorable manner centralism with democratism in the area of planning, for, on the one hand, this increases the significance of the central plan in accurately defining the objectives, conditions and pace of socioeconomic development of the country as a whole and, on the other, creates conditions for taking more fully into consideration the role of socialist commodity-monetary relations. Our experience indicates that this calls for eliminating excessive centralism in planning, improving the balancing of the plan with a view to ensuring conditions for the more harmonious functioning of all objective socialist laws and the complete utilization of the advantages of the socialist system and the creativity of millions of people who are building developed socialism. It means that along with the further advancement of centralized planning the counterplan must become the basic instrument in socialist economic management. At the same time, we must make even fuller use of the opportunities offered by socialist commodity-monetary relations and the new meaning and functions of economic levers such as profit, price, credit, wages and their efficient utilization. It is on this basis that the plan develops its full economic functions and becomes to an even greater extent a plan for socioeconomic development, which covers not only national economic ratios and economic indicators but directs and controls social and spiritual processes and ensures the advancement of socialist production relations.

The clarification of the problem of owner and manager of socialist property is also reflected on the party's policies and activities in improving and developing socialist democracy, socialist labor democracy in particular. As early as 1974 Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the basis of the scientific concept of managing the economy and social processes is the view "that ...at the present stage the socialist collective must function not only as a management object but as a management subject, i.e., as the master of the enterprise, and must bear double responsibility for its fate."¹² As a result of the new economic approach and its mechanism and the stipulation that the labor collective is the manager of socialist property, this concept is increasingly turning from prospects to reality and developing as a mass practice, for the working people are directly interested in participating in enterprise management, since their income and well-being depend on the quality of output and production efficiency. Today enhancing the role of the primary units and the working person is the main content of the process of improving our political system and social management. That is why the 12th Congress recommended the development and increased application of the socio-state and state-social principle in economic management and in other areas of social life, the use of elected and competitive principles in the promotion of leading cadres in enterprises and the various units within the political system and the application of a variety of means of expanding direct democracy. It was to this effect that the rights and obligations of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Fatherland Front and the other social organizations

were clarified as guarantors for upgrading production quality and efficiency. A major event in this respect was the elaboration and adoption of the basic stipulations of the party's concept of the new Labor Code, which was accurately defined by the people as the labor constitution of developed socialism.

Ensuring the necessary conditions for steadily upgrading the well-being of the working people is a great and lasting accomplishment of the socialist revolution. Concern for the people and for their well-being has been the main purpose of the people's regime from the very beginning of the building of socialism. The advantages of the new social system are manifested most fully and richly in the establishment and development of a socialist way of life. Today the socialist way of life is manifested in features such as labor, democracy, collectivism, humanism, internationalism and patriotism. The socialist way of life has become the main factor in molding the new personality of a socialist type--comprehensively developed, displaying strong labor and political activeness and loyal to the cause of socialism, internationalism and patriotism. Our practice confirms the accuracy of the statement made by Marx and Engels to the effect that "it is the activities of the individuals which determine their nature."¹³

Labor activeness is the core of the socialist way of life. By eliminating the exploitation of man by man socialism radically changed the nature of labor. Labor stopped being a burden for man and is increasingly becoming a factor in the development of his essential forces and a criterion and measure of his social and individual dignity. We no longer judge people on the basis of what they think and say about themselves but by their contribution to society. Although under socialism labor remains for all people above all a means of subsistence, many people are beginning to see within it not only a source of income which determines the level of satisfaction of their material, social and spiritual needs, but satisfaction with the work itself and its nature, conditions and meaning. The people are beginning to try harder, and to consider labor not a burden but a prime vital need. Free labor is turning into an area in which the person displays all his valuable features: knowledge, talent, political consciousness and social efficiency. The main distinguishing feature of labor under socialism, which liberated man from the chains of exploitation, is the creation of a conscious attitude toward it. This consciousness will be increasing steadily, reaching its peak with the building of a developed socialist society. The increased socialist consciousness is paralleled by the increased shoots of labor as a vital necessity. At the present stage this value of the socialist revolution is being realized as a result of the elimination of a number of contradictions and negative features.

The living standard of the people is an important feature of the socialist way of life. The fact that the building of a socialist economy is not a self-seeking aim but a means of the increasingly fuller and comprehensive satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people is a lasting value of the socialist revolution. This value is realized particularly intensively through the social orientation of our development in the period of building a mature socialist society, which was included in the party's December 1972 program for upgrading the living standard, which is being successfully implemented.

The interaction between economic and social policy, included in the December program, has multiple features. It is not reduced merely to enhancing the living standard but encompasses all basic objectives of social development. The purpose is for social policy to become an active factor, a motive force in the development of the material and technical base and economic intensification. This can be successfully accomplished through the increasingly full implementation of the principle of socialist equality and socialist justice--the socialist principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of labor. That is why a new approach is being applied in determining wages under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, as the basic source of increasing the income and purchasing power of the people and the principal means of stimulating their labor activeness. Under the conditions of the application of the economic mechanism, the conversion of wages to a resulting value is the only possible means of ensuring the proper combination of the economic interests of economic organizations and labor collectives and the interests of the state and society.

By pursuing a policy of comprehensively satisfying the needs of the people, based on the steady enhancement of purchasing power, based on the quantity and quality of the labor invested, the party wages a decisive struggle against parasitical consumption, waste of socialist property, theft and appropriations and various means of obtaining unearned income.

In terms of the distribution of social consumption funds as well a new approach is being followed. Its purpose, along with enhancing the living standard, is to increase the role of such funds as a factor which stimulates the participation of the people in labor and creative work and which does not undermine the effect of the principle of material incentive, which is a principal and determining one in socialism.

New steps were earmarked aimed at improving the life of the people and the happiness of families with the decree which was passed this year by the BCP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, Fatherland Front National Council and Komsomol Central Committee on the further implementation of the December program for upgrading the living standards of the people in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress.

The steadily growing activeness of the working people in developing the country's economic, political and cultural life is an objective prerequisite for the molding of a new, a socialist daily awareness and a new socialist way of life. Our contemporaries are active participants in social life. They act as people's representatives, jurors, people's controllers, members of public order detachments, members or managers of sociopolitical organizations or of trade union, scientific or creative associations, parent aktivs in school, comrade courts in their district, members of housing councils, etc. It would be difficult to enumerate all the areas in which the high idea-minded, purposeful, dedicated and socially significant activeness of the masses is developing. What is unquestionable, however, is that socialism is the very foundation of such activities. Socialism and human activities are inseparable. V. I. Lenin did not write in vain that socialism cannot be

built by decree. It can be built when dozens and hundreds of thousands of people become actively involved in building economic, political and cultural life.

The active participation of the people in building a socialist society is a characteristic feature of the new way of life. It broadens our knowledge of the laws of society, makes us a greater part of its nature and contributes to the molding of socially involved, independent, active and comprehensively developed and creative individuals. The socialist individual is the greatest gain of real socialism. It is the predominant type of person in our society.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is a lasting value of our socialist revolution, both as theory and practice.

The foundations of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship rest on the common destinies of the Slavic peoples opposing attempts at their assimilation, the great self-sacrifice of the Russian people for the sake of our national liberation from Ottoman slavery and the common interests shared by our peoples in the face of fascist danger and aggression. After the victory of our socialist revolution, which took place with the help of the Soviet Union, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship was elevated to the rank of a vital need for our people in building the new social system. The very existence of socialism in the land of the soviets and its experience in building socialism were an objective necessity, a support and a living example to our party and socialist state in their historical mission.

Georgi Dimitrov, the noted Bulgarian revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, made a great contribution to the substantiation and development of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. It was precisely he who formulated the profoundly meaningful thought close to the heart of every honest Bulgarian person that "sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is as necessary for the national independence and prosperity of Bulgaria as are the sun and the air for any living being."¹⁴

Our experience in the course of which, in developing and pursuing the general line of the BCP during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, we steadily drew from the experience of the CPSU and the first socialist country in the world, and creatively applied it under our circumstances, is of historical value. Thanks to this proper general party line, real socialism triumphed in Bulgaria definitively and irreversibly. We are proud of the fact that within a historically short period, from a previously backward country our country became a modern socialist state. There is no Bulgarian who does not relate our successes to the steady and selfless aid of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. That is why fraternal cooperation with and the help of the Soviet Union and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship are of lasting significance in terms of our successes in building socialism.

As a national necessity and an objective law of our development, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship was given particularly favorable opportunities for its manifestation after the April 1956 BCP Plenum, when our friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union were enriched and raised on a much higher level. The main feature in the new content of the friendship was manifested

in the course of comprehensive rapprochement with the Soviet Union, which is a decisive prerequisite for the further upsurge of our socialist homeland. The new stage in the development of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship as internationalism in action was included in important state and party documents such as the 1971 Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the party's program, which was adopted at its 9th Congress. The program categorically emphasizes that "based on its national and international tasks and obligations, the Bulgarian Communist Party will continue:

"To develop and intensify with all its strength the fraternity, unity of thought and unity of action with the CPSU and will pursue a course of comprehensive rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union."¹⁵

The new course of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, a course of comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement, was profoundly substantiated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. With his inherent farsightedness of the Marxist-Leninist theoretician, he linked this course with the qualitatively new stage in which our country had entered--building a developed socialist society--and the problems which the party and the state had to resolve in this connection, as well as the level reached in our relations with the Soviet Union and the process under way of internationalization of production forces within the socialist commonwealth. With a great deal of skill Comrade Todor Zhivkov determined not only the necessity but the scope and content of this all-round cooperation and rapprochement. He pointed out that necessarily comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement apply to all elements of our social system and that "it consists of qualitatively new content which is given to the processes of all-round rapprochement and integration between our countries and peoples, enhancing them to such a level that the development of socialist Bulgaria will share with the Soviet Union the same rhythm, uniform criterion, joint efforts and coordinated actions in the political, economic, ideological, scientific, cultural and military areas."¹⁶ Justifiably, relations between the NRB and the USSR are considered a model of socialist internationalism in action.

The qualitatively new stage in Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is combined with economic integration within CEMA. It is a real contribution to the implementation of the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration and the further development of cooperation among the members of the socialist commonwealth. The new course followed in Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is also fully consistent with the latest decisions made at the summit meeting among CEMA member countries on the further development of socialist economic integration, which stipulates the implementation of a coordinated economic policy.

As a new dimension of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, all-round cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union is yielding fruitful results which have a particularly beneficial impact on our economic, ideological, cultural and political development. Consequently, the all-round cooperation and rapprochement between our country and the Soviet Union is another great historical lasting gain of our socialist revolution.

It can be definitely said that the greatest lasting value of the socialist revolution in our country is the growth and practical manifestation of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a party of creative Marxism-Leninism. It established itself as the revolutionizing and transforming force, as a universally acknowledged leader and organizer of all of our present victories. The steady enhancement of the leading role played by the communist party is the most important and principal law of the socialist revolution and the building of a socialist social system. "Without the leading and guiding role of the communist party," Comrade Todor Zhivkov indicates, "the very establishment of a socialist social system and its development would be inconceivable."¹⁷

The implementation and practical manifestation of this law is the result above all of the circumstance that it is the party of the most revolutionary class--the working class--called upon to put an end to the capitalist system and replace it with a classless communist society; and that it not only expresses and defends the interests of this class but includes within it the most conscientious segment of this class and, under socialist conditions, of the other toiling masses--the agricultural workers and the socialist intelligentsia.

Like any living organism the party develops and improves its activities. The strengthening of social unity within society and taking the interests of the other social masses and groups closer to those of the working class create objective prerequisites for the communist party of the working class gradually to develop into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people and to become the party of the whole people.

The establishment of the BCP as the universally acknowledged leader and vanguard of the people--such an exceptionally important lasting value of the socialist revolution--and its conversion in the future into the party of the whole people without losing its quality of vanguard of the working class is inconceivable without the existence of a proper political line and proper strategy and tactic followed throughout the stages of the revolutionary process. The party was able to accomplish this thanks to its mastery of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, its spirit of innovation, its ability to apply a revolutionary approach in its thinking and in resolving the new problems and the use of a new scientific approach, to take into consideration the requirements of the objective laws of social development and identify promptly the steadily arising contradictions and take measures for their resolution and elimination.

The existence of a proper political line has continued to enable the BCP to expand and strengthen its ties with and influence among the broad toiling masses and, under the conditions of victorious socialism, with all socioclass groups and strata, with the entire people. The result of the implementation of this line convinces the toiling masses of its accuracy and they naturally and legitimately become actively and consciously involved in the struggle for its implementation. The strengthening and development of friendship and joint work between the BCP and the BZNS under contemporary conditions is a lasting value of our socialist revolution. Our experience has indicated that not only during the transitional period but also during the period of building developed socialism noncommunist parties can participate in social life

if they acknowledge the leading role of the BCP and its program for building developed socialism as their political line.

An accurate political line is a base which enables the communist party successfully to implement its leading role in terms of the Fatherland Front and the mass organizations so that they may participate in the struggle for the implementation of the plans and resolutions of party congresses and other party forums. Today the Fatherland Front, as the most popular sociopolitical organization and a nationwide movement, enriches and develops its activities and carries out all the practical assignments of the population and the country. It increasingly rallies around the party's policy communists, united agrarians, nonparty people and the entire nation.

Some of the basic lasting values of our socialist revolution indicated on the occasion of the 40th anniversary, are the equivalent of an entire age in terms of scale and significance. Obviously, they will be further developed and enriched in the further building of developed socialism. This will also give birth and develop new values which will ensure the transformation of our homeland into a mature socialist country and will ensure and guarantee a gradual transition to communism. They will constitute new essential contributions made by the BCP to the theory and practice of building socialism and communism and the continuation and enhancement of the valuable tradition and example left to us by Blagoev and Dimitrov, which were so greatly enhanced during the April period of the socialist building of our homeland under the leadership of the worthy continuator of their cause--Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Dimitrov, "Such." [Works], Vol 14, p 348.
2. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such." [Selected Works], Vol 4, p 180.
3. Ibid., p 185.
4. "Statisticheski Godishnik na NRB za 1983 g." [Statistical Yearbook of the NRB for 1983], p 12;
"Statisticheski Godishnik na NRB za 1984 g." [Statistical Yearbook of the NRB for 1984], pp 41, 54.
5. T. Zhivkov, "Za Kharaktera na Sobstvenata Materialno-Tekhnicheska Baza na Zreliya Sotsializum--Problemi i Podkhodi na Neynoto Izgrazhdane v Bulgariya" [On the Nature of the Material and Technical Base of Mature Socialism Itself--Problems and Approaches Relative to Its Building in Bulgaria]. Sofia, 1983, p 20.
6. T. Zhivkov. "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na Dvanadesetiya Kongres na Partiyata" [Let Us Embody in Real Actions the Resolutions of the 12th Party Congress]. Sofia, 1982, p 114.

7. T. Zhivkov. "Razvitiyeto na Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskite Otnosheniya i na Upravleniyeto na Narodnoto Stopanstvo" [Development and Socioeconomic Relations and Management of the National Economy]. Sofia, 1983, p 7.
8. Ibid., pp 6-7.
9. Ibid., p 8.
10. T. Zhivkov [ibid., footnote 6], p 113.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 36, p 146.
12. T. Zhivkov. "Izbr. Such.," Vol 36, p 146.
13. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such.," vol 3, p 21.
14. G. Dimitrov, "Such.," vol 11, p 129.
15. "Programa na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya" [Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party], Sofia, 1971, p 107.
16. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such.," Vol 21, p 222.
17. T. Zhivkov, "Za Povishavane Rukovodnata Rolya na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya, za Usuvurshenstvuvane na Neynata Politicheska i Ideologicheska Rabota" [On Enhancing the Leading Role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Improving Its Political and Ideological Work]. Sofia, 1983, p 3.

Social Laws in Building Socialism

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 20-38

[Article by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]

[Text] With the great 40th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution we are celebrating the most significant feature in the age-old history of Bulgaria--the socialist epoch of its development. Under the leadership of the BCP in 40 years we reached the socialist peak at which our people found solutions to the most vital problems of their existence and their striving toward progress. The glory and strength of contemporary socialist Bulgaria rest on this peak.

Everything we have achieved is the result of the exceptional sociohistorical creativity of our people--the working class, agricultural workers and intelligentsia--skillfully and farsightedly guided and directed by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The party of the Bulgarian communists proved to be on the level of the assignment of formulating and implementing a class-oriented and profoundly

national line and an accurate viable political course, a substantiated long-range strategy, consistent with the effect of the objective laws of history, the laws of building and developing a socialist society and the specific manifestation of such laws in our country. As a part of creative Marxism-Leninism, it is guided by the fundamental postulate of Marx, Engels and Lenin that we can neither eliminate nor decree or circumvent social laws. "Our freedom, our possibilities as a subjective factor, our knowledge of the requirements of objective laws and, by taking them into consideration, to create conditions for their increasingly fuller manifestation. This is the source of our strength and our possibilities of accelerating social development."¹

The profound knowledge of the objective social laws and their skillful utilization in the formulation of a political course has been one of the main features of BCP activities since its establishment.

It was precisely by starting from a true knowledge of historical laws and their specific manifestation that Dimitur Blagoev, the greatest Marxist in the Balkans at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, was able brilliantly to determine the trends of the historical process in our country, accurately to predict the development of Bulgaria and to build, along with his fellow workers, the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

It was precisely on the basis of the laws of objective social development and the class struggle that, rearmed with the ideological, tactical and strategic weapons of Leninism, under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, the noted son of the Bulgarian working class and noted leader of the international worker and communist movements, that the party engaged in the difficult and heroic battle against capitalism and fascism, which brought about the victorious 9 September Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the people's regime.

The party's ability creatively to apply and develop Marxism-Leninism, to become increasingly familiar with the objective laws of the socialist society in their specific manifestation in terms of Bulgarian reality, to master and use them in accomplishing the great historical objectives of the working class and to provide scientifically substantiated decisions of tremendous practical importance in our progress was comprehensively enriched and enhanced and developed as an overall strategy and methodology and as a socio-historical creativity and social practice after the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

This valuable feature of the party's April line is essentially and organically related to the remarkable theoretical, political and practical-organizational activities of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. It contains his innovative feeling and revolutionary way of thinking. It has his unique and captivating personal style. Under his direct leadership and most active personal participation, the approach which we, Bulgarian communists, define as creative Marxism-Leninism in action was elaborated and approved; this was an enviable ability to implement in practice the Leninist requirement of encompassing and identifying the "objective logic of the economic evolution," and of overall social development and, on this basis, successfully struggle against subjectivism and voluntarism; it was a means of successfully finding accurate

solutions consistent with the objective laws and requirements of the people's masses; it was the dialectical unity between steadily developing theoretical party thinking and the life practice of millions of people; it was a vital force which inspires, mobilizes and transforms our social reality.

The master of the dialectics of the interrelationship between objective laws and the human factory is the corps of the Marxist-Leninist nature of the April line. Let us recall that the April line took its first historical step with the social acknowledgment of the objective law of the role of the people's masses as the creators of history and the Leninist stipulation that socialism cannot be created by ukases from above and can be exclusively the accomplishment of the working people. Let's emphasize that this was not a one-time act of respect for the objective laws and their dialectics. It marked the beginning of a line, a policy which has been systematically implemented for decades and in which the accurate, correct and creative attitude shown by the party and personally by Comrade Todor Zhivkov toward objective reality was established as a pride, safe and efficient management in practical work. It contains several essential features:

First. Armed with the dialectics of the objective laws, in its April general line our party displayed and is displaying profound political realism. It made and makes an accurate assessment of the true possibilities of society in the various stages of its development and the natural boundaries limiting our activities as a people and party. It is no accident that our latest April political history does not contain adventurism or efforts to hasten social development but, as Lenin said, presents a broad yet well-thought-out work.

Second. The party approved as its April style of thinking and action seeking and finding support in the objective needs and interests of the people's masses. We achieved remarkable successes and we realize that they are the result of the remarkable and truly Leninist ability shown by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the entire party to interest the broad popular circles and to involve and attract them in participating in events, turning the party objectives and tasks into the personal projects of every party member and individual working person, of all labor collectives and the whole people.

Third. By following Marx and Lenin our party established the scientific study and knowledge of objective reality and its laws and trends as the basic method of theoretical and practical work. We do not act consistently with reality exclusively on the basis of individual experience but on the basis of yesterday's experience in social science and the latest achievements of knowledge and accomplishments of the human mind. This is the strength of the party, the April attitude toward science.

These are some of the strongest aspects of our April line and of our party and the creative theoretical, political and organizational work of its leader. Their combination allows the party to set to the people broad yet achievable objectives and to discover and apply means and scopes for the people's activeness and energy, initiative and creativeness and to lead us forward as a society with confidence, stability, daring and flexibility inherent in a truly Leninist party.

I

Four decades ago, the BCP directly faced the task of liberating our social life from the "blind force" of uncontrolled social necessity and to create a new planned and proportionally developing just social system, to organize socioeconomic processes within the framework of the entire society on a scientific basis and to assume control over forces which previously appeared alien and uncontrollable. It undertook the implementation of this task on the basis of the scientific depth and powerful transforming force of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Our experience in preparations for and making of the socialist revolution and the implementation of the main changes during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism confirmed the prediction of the Marxist-Leninist classics, which was accomplished for the first time in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union: the appearance and building of the new society is a process consistent with objective laws and patterns.

The revolutionary process in our country occurred in specific and characteristic aspects determined by historical traditions, national characteristics and the ratio of forces in the world. This course of the revolutionary process was entirely natural at the stage when the fatal question of "Who-whom?" was being resolved. It confirmed the farsightedness of the approach taken by the BCP, which was able to create conditions for the systematic manifestation of the objective laws of the revolutionary process and to ensure the country's development on the path to socialism. Closely seeking that which was specifically inherent in Bulgarian reality and without which no serious theoretical study or a real practical step forward were possible, our party resolved the main problem: it ensured the true manifestation of the objective social laws.

In the course of the socialist revolution the tactics and strategy of the BCP were defined above all by the requirements based on the overall laws of the socialist revolutionary process and the universally valid laws of building socialism. This was the guiding principle of the party's general line of establishing and asserting the people's regime, engaging in general democratic changes and converting to a broad front of building socialism and rallying the broad popular masses under the banner of the Fatherland Front. "The specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism in our country," Georgi Dimitrov said, "neither invalidates nor could invalidate the basic laws...common to all countries."²

The consideration of the general laws and their application in our country confirmed the similarity between the 9 September Revolution and the Great October Socialist Revolution. This led the party to the conclusion that regardless of the different characteristics it was a "repetition of the Great October Revolution in its essential and main features."³

At the 7th Party Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov provided an overall Marxist-Leninist characterization of the revolution in Bulgaria and its main laws.

Indicating that the revolution in our country, which was people's democratic in form, was socialist from its very beginning, he said: "The main, the decisive question facing every Marxist-Leninist is that of the universal principles and laws of the revolution."⁴

He also emphasized the need of taking into consideration the features of the socialist revolution in the country. "These features are the result of the different historical, political and economic conditions which existed in our country. They were the result of the ability of our party creatively to apply the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with specific circumstances."⁵

In our country as well, in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the common laws were manifested, such as the transformation of the communist party into the guiding force of society, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, ensuring the domination of public ownership of productive capital in industry and socialist industrialization, the gradual socialist reorganization of agriculture, the planned development of the economy aimed at upgrading the living standards of the people, the making of a cultural revolution, the establishment of proletarian and socialist internationalism, and so on.

Taking into consideration the requirements of these laws, the party systematically created prerequisites for their manifestation by accurately selecting the ways, forms, means and rates which were the result of specific historic, political and economic conditions developing our development.

Without becoming the slave of dogmatic systems and, at the same time, without losing its historical perspective and forgetting the logic of social processes objectively demanding the socialist building of the country under the favorable circumstances created by the comprehensive support given by the Soviet Union, the party displayed a creative approach. It rallied all antifascists and democratic forces and parties. It strengthened and developed the people's democracy without civil war, as a new specific form of dictatorship of the proletariat and, subsequently, as the people's regime strengthened and as a result of the socioeconomic and class changes, it radically changed the structure, composition and tasks of the Fatherland Front. "Zveno" and the Radical Party voluntarily self-disbanded and joined the Fatherland Front. Some of the members of the Social Democratic Party joined the communist party while others entered the Fatherland Front. The BZNS was reorganized and became one of the main constructive forces of the Fatherland Front and the cause of socialism.⁶

Another such example of creative Marxist-Leninist solution of specific historical problems in our country was the approach taken in the socialist reorganization of agriculture, which we began to apply immediately after the 9 September victory. Taking into consideration the traditions and the then existing socioclass structure in our countryside, the party found a form consistent with specific circumstances for the implementation of this law, a circumstance which made it possible, within a relatively short time and despite difficulties and subsequent errors, to resolve one of the most important problems of the socialist revolution.

The use of the general laws of socialist reorganization in our country, consequently, has a specifically historical aspect which is determined, on the one hand, by the complex internal and international conditions under which the revolutionary process took place, the difficulties caused by the difficult legacy, the resistance of the class enemy, etc., and, on the other hand, the ability of the subjective factor to take into consideration the requirements of these laws and to pursue a consistently accurate political course. The party's assessment for that period is clear: our people successfully resolved the main problems of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The general line of the Bulgarian Communist Party of laying the foundations of socialism in our country was followed successfully. However, during the period of cult of personality, as a result of a noncreative and dogmatic approach, the specific conditions and forms of manifestation of the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism were insufficiently understood and, in a number of cases, openly neglected. The dialectics of this process was undisturbed. These were major errors and shortcomings which adversely affected the party's and the people's constructive activities. They triggered deviations and distortions in the implementation of the party's policy and in the methods of party and state leadership. They slowed down the pace of our socioeconomic development, etc. The cult of personality and the negative phenomena related to it were naturally unable to change the nature of socialism and of its objective laws and patterns, or the nature of the party's general line of building a socialist society. However, as an alien growth on the vital organism of socialism and as a phenomenon alien to the Marxist-Leninist party and socialism, it had to be and indeed was categorically and forever rejected from our life and our social practice. This historically necessary act was another manifestation of the Leninist maturity of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

II

The historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum was of crucial significance in systematically guiding our social development in accordance with the objective laws of building socialism. The Leninist April general line, which was developed and systematically implemented by the party, is a line of completing the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, a line of building a mature socialist society and a line of creating conditions and prerequisites for the gradual future conversion to building communism in the Bulgarian People's Republic. "The April BCP line," the resolution of the 12th BCP Congress emphasized on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, "is Marxism-Leninism in action under the specific conditions of our country and the living unity and interaction between the creatively developing theory of scientific socialism and the specific sociohistorical practice of the working class and the broad popular masses in the building and development of socialism in our country."⁸

The dialectical unity between the general laws and specific characteristics of building socialism in our country is embedded in the most profound essence of the April line. "The April line of the Bulgarian Communist Party...is a line of creative approach to the general laws governing the building of socialism."⁹

Immediately after the April BCP Central Committee Plenum, the voluntaristic attitude toward social laws was surmounted within a short time. The erroneous stipulation relative to the country's industrialization was corrected. We undertook the accelerated development of the leading heavy industry sectors--machine building, chemical industry, power industry, etc. The socialist reorganization of agriculture took place without upheavals, with the high social activeness of the toiling farmers; the labor cooperative farms were consolidated. As a result of the serious measures which were taken our participation in the international socialist division of labor and the socialist economic integration with the members of CEMA intensified.

Improving national economic planning and other areas of social life, increasing the material interest of the working people in the results of their labor and creating conditions for decisively restricting and eliminating subjectivism in social management became the main trends in the implementation of the objective laws. The extensive democratization of social life entered a new higher stage. The sociopolitical organizations developed their functions on a new political base. The unity of action between communists and agrarians strengthened and the contribution of BZNS increased in the implementation of domestic and foreign policy. The initiatives and creativity of the working people developed extensively. Bulgarian culture entered a period of blossoming. The quality of the leading role of the BCP was enhanced and improved.

The comprehensive utilization of the objective social laws, the economic laws in particular, became the characteristic feature of the April line, based on the existence of real interconnections and interactions among them.

The full victory of socialist production relations in the national economy as a whole and obtaining high and stable rates in the development of production forces, the creation of a new nonantagonistic socioclass structure and the development of the socialist individual with his new awareness and behavior, became the type of new social reality from which we rapidly advanced toward mature socialism. This also meant the appearance of qualitatively new conditions for a decisive upsurge in the party's political creativity and further development of its general line. The elaboration and creative development of the concept of our party on building mature socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic became the expression of all of this.

Both our experience and the experience of the other socialist countries has confirmed that building a socialist society is a complex and lengthy process which has its historically objective laws and patterns. Some of the laws characteristic of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism have long been inactive, for the problems they formulated were resolved. Another part of such laws continues to be manifested at the present stage of our social development as well. Along with them new laws appeared and were established, brought to life by changed sociohistorical conditions.

The concern of mastering the dialectics of the objective laws of socialism, discovering new problems and arising contradictions and forging ahead by systematically surmounting difficulties and errors is the guiding principle of the April line. The specific implementation of this principle lies in the

rich theoretical and practical activities of the BCP over the past nearly 3 decades, activities which were manifested in peaks of innovative thinking and revolutionary creativity such as the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the party program, the resolutions of the 11th and 12th party congresses, etc. Unquestionably, the remarkable works of Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Party Congress, which were summed up in further development in his work "Problems and Approaches in Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic," marked another height in discoveries in building mature socialism, raising our theory and overall party policy and strategy to a new level.

Life steadily confirms Lenin's concept that the subjective factor can meet the task of guiding the building of socialism as the conscious, planned and scientifically substantiated activity of millions of people with the shaping and implementation of an accurate long-term political course and earmarking an accurate long-term strategy consistent with the end objective of the communist party--communism. Hence the concern of all true revolutionaries and the real Leninist party of formulating a substantiated political course, enriching it and struggling for its practical implementation, for it is precisely "politics which is the main lever in purposefully influencing all social processes."¹⁰

BCP activities in the period which followed the April BCP Central Committee Plenum are a convincing manifestation of the implementation of this basic theoretical and practical requirement. The building of a vital, fruitful, long-range political course is something which our party has always considered of decisive significance. The systematic observance of this requirement is one of the most distinguishing, one of the most powerful and captivating features of the April policy course. This is the core of the April line.

It was thanks to this that we were able, within a historically short time, to cover the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, to undertake the building of a mature socialist society and make Bulgaria a blossoming socialist country.

It was thanks to this that our party laid on a firm foundation its theoretical and practical activities in properly defining the stages in our social development and our immediate and more distant objectives, etc. It is on this basis that it is formulating a substantiated strategy and tactics for each stage, designing accurate criteria for reaching programmatic objectives and setting realistic long-term tasks. It is precisely on the basis of these positions that we are waging an efficient struggle against individual manifestations of subjectivism and occasional voluntaristic manifestations in planning and managing social processes.

Proper consideration of the requirements of the objective laws inherent in socialism is of decisive importance in shaping and implementing an accurate political course in the development of the socialist society. This is natural, for the relationship between objective laws and political courses has two sides. On the one hand, a political course may be accurate if it is consistent with the requirements of these laws. On the other, politics itself, as a system of purposeful actions and steps, is a decisive factor in implementing the requirements of social laws and patterns.

It is no accident, therefore, that the basic programmatic stipulation of the line the beginning of which was set at the April Plenum is the elaboration and pursuit of a class political course, scientifically substantiated and consistent with objective laws in all areas--economics, management and spiritual life.

Thus, for example, in the period which followed the April Plenum the party provided an accurate long-term solution to the radical problem of our socialist society of ensuring an increasing consistency between satisfying the needs of the people and developing the economy. As we know, during the period of the cult of personality the radically erroneous view was being disseminated that Bulgaria does not need heavy industry and should specialize above all in agriculture and light industry. It is clear that with such a view we would have been unable to ensure a lasting and permanent solution of the living standard problems, for this was a violation of one of the determining requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, i.e., satisfying the needs of the people on the basis of a powerful development of the material-production base.

After the April Plenum the party followed a course which was consistent with the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism and the requirements of the other objective laws. Accordingly, the industrialization of the country and the development of the material-production base resting on scientific and technical progress developed on a broad front. The years which followed the April Plenum were a period of historical gains which allowed us to formulate and implement the December program of steady and undeviating improvements in the living standards of the people.

Or else let us consider the question of the stages in the development of our socialist society and the party's ability to bring up crucial problems.

After the April BCP Central Committee Plenum our party realized that, as the first phase of communism, socialism is not something static or frozen, that it is a social system which advances from lower to higher forms of social organization; that the transitional period from capitalism to socialism is insufficient in developing a socialist social system as a harmoniously developed social organism; that consequently after the transitional period neither the objective nor subjective prerequisite for a conversion to communism as the higher phase of the new socioeconomic system have been created. As we know, this was specifically manifested in the resolutions of the 7th Party Congress, which took place immediately after the memorable April Plenum.

The study of the active party efforts toward the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s indicated that the meaning, content and purpose of its theoretical and practical activities at that time were concentrated exclusively on the development and advancement of sectorial socialism in Bulgaria and the enhancement of its material and spiritual potential. To this effect it was not only theoretically and practically ready to accept the new formulations which were being discussed at that time in the collective forums of the international communist and worker movements but became an active co-author of such formulations and, particularly, the formulation of the developed socialist society. The extensive work which took place in the years

which followed made possible the formulation and interpretation of a number of crucial problems of our development.

It was on this basis that the party developed its program for building a developed socialist society in our country, which was adopted at the 10th Party Congress in 1971. The new Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic was approved on the basis of a nationwide plebiscite and vote.

Toward the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s our social development demanded answers to new social requirements and new processes which were legitimately developing in our overall social life.

It was more especially during the 1970s that the elements of mature socialism developed in the economy, culture and socialist way of life. At the same time, the course of comprehensive intensification, which is taking place under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, became an imperative requirement of our comprehensive development. The 12th Party Congress noted that the level of development which was reached made it possible and demanded the further advancement of the political system and the expansion and intensification and the democratization process in all areas.

On the basis of the qualitative and quantitative changes which had taken place in social life during the 1970s, the need of enriching the party concept of building mature socialism and answering essentially new problems legitimately arose. The theoretical work done by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in recent years was of historical significance in the interpretation and development of these problems.

What was the conclusion?

The conclusion was that the systematic Marxist-Leninist approach taken by our party toward objective laws is the main prerequisite which enables it to formulate an accurate political course for each individual stage and to formulate an accurate strategy and tactic and steadfastly lead our society toward mature socialism.

III

The ability to formulate an accurate political course is efficient when the political course is the result of the application of objective laws, and when it actively contributes to the proper application and implementation of their stipulations. It is a question of an ability which is the highest possible manifestation of the ability of any Marxist-Leninist party to approach problems of socialist construction creatively, on a scientific basis and with practical results, i.e., profoundly to determine, study and take into consideration the objective dialectics of the building, functioning and development of the socialist society. The application of objective laws and the implementation of their action in life determine the directions, content and pace of social changes; in the final account, this determines the way in which our communist ideal can be obtained.

However, social laws do not follow a single direction. They offer a variety of opportunities some of which may have adverse consequences in a specific situation. That is why it is the skill of the subjective factor which determines how and to what extent will objective conditions be taken into consideration and the results and consequences of the enactment of one law or another.

In the course of its activities, the Bulgarian Communist Party ascribes prime significance to the set of problems related to the practical ability systematically to apply and use objective laws. In other words, this is a question not of abstract-scholastic concepts of objective laws but of profoundly substantiated theoretical and practical work which provides favorable conditions for the effect of the objective laws and their proper utilization. Such is the party's April approach.

This is clearly exemplified by the overall party activities aimed at improving the planned management of the economy and the other areas of social life, carried out through the application of the law of the planned and proportional development. In its theoretical and practical activities the party does not restrict the effect of this law. It seeks no other mechanisms to control social life but emphasizes its systematic practical utilization by steadily taking its requirements into consideration based on changing conditions. In this connection it elaborates and applies substantiated steps to improve the correlation between centralism and democratism, to improve the planned mechanism, to make use of new approaches such as the comprehensive and program-target approach, etc. Counterplanning, which offers exceptionally favorable circumstances for enhancing the role of the primary units and labor collectives as the managers of socialist property is of essential significance in this respect.

It can be said that the activities of the subjective factor is as creative, transforming and constructive as the more favorable the conditions for the effect and manifestation of objective laws become. This is the main feature which characterizes the work of the BCP in this area.

The conditions which ensure the effect of objective laws include, above all, the stipulation of being properly familiar and, therefore, improving the mechanism of this action. This requirement is also of crucial theoretical practical significance in the activities of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Suffice it to indicate the approach applied by our party in meeting the needs of the people, an approach which affects the further advancement of the mechanism of action itself of the basic law of socialism. Here the new feature is, above all, the attitude toward resolving the problems of the living standard. The core of the problem lies in the comprehensive satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people in accordance with the growth of their purchasing power. A new attitude has been adopted toward the means of utilization of social consumption funds and the shaping of wages as the main source for higher income. Another new feature is the development of the social functions of all labor collectives, economic organizations and conurbation systems. Conditions are created to "untie their hands" and enhance their self-initiative and creativity.

The stipulation developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov relative to needs is essentially new. Need should not be considered something which develops by itself and which raises exclusively quantitative problems in terms of the socialist economy. The problem is to convert from a passive to an active stance, i.e., to learn to manage the system of needs itself, to plan, regulate and direct its development and renovation and to subordinate it entirely to the objectives which we have set ourselves at one stage or another or, in other words, to create optimal conditions for the manifestation of the basic economic law of socialism.

The Leninist requirement of a specific analysis of any situation is the search for methods of organization and means of action consistent with the conditions in which the social laws of socialism manifest themselves. This requirement is a guiding principle in our party's activities. It was creatively applied, as we pointed out, in the course of the socialist revolution. It is also being applied in the course of building mature socialism. In the case of the economy, this would be an original form of concentration and specialization of production on a national scale in accordance with the multiplication approach; in agriculture this would apply above all to the agroindustrial complexes; in management, this would pertain to the sociostate and state-social principle, the new economic approach and its mechanism, etc.; in education this would mean the development of a unified secondary polytechnical school through the introduction of the triple-stage structure of the educational system, and so on, and so forth.

The Bulgarian Communist Party is guided by the concept that consideration of the specific conditions within which the objective laws operate neither is nor could be self-seeking. This requirement applies to the extent to which it enables us to create favorable prerequisites for the fuller manifestation of the objective laws and, consequently, the successful course of building socialism and increasing our concern for the people.

The creation of conditions which ensure the fuller and more efficient implementation of the objective laws formulates essentially new requirements for the subjective factor.

This applies above all to the requirement of taking into consideration and properly controlling the interconnection between objective social laws and the conscious activities of the subjective factor. This requirement is dictated by the fact that under the conditions of the new society the effect of these laws presumes an essentially new qualitative characterization of conscious activities, such as the advancement of its ability to be implemented as a scientifically substantiated activity which can regulate the planned and proportional development and functioning of the entire social organism and lead to its ascending growth and strengthening of its social and ideological-political unity.

The implementation of this requirement involves the solution of complex theoretical and practical problems.

It is a question, above all, of the comprehensive activities of the socialist subjective factor and its political nucleus--the communist party--to be

carried out on a scientific basis through the intensive development of theoretical thinking and a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of objective processes and laws governing our social development.

The period which followed the April BCP Central Committee Plenum was a time of steadily increasing ability of the party to engage in accurate scientific analysis and to control the effect of these laws; it was a time of profound studies and summations of fundamental social laws such as the law of the consistency between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces; the law of planned and proportional development of socialism; the basic economic law of socialism; the law of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor, etc. The party's supreme principle of activities is that it is guided by Marxism-Leninism and its dialectical-materialistic philosophy, which is the key to the better awareness and application of objective dialectical laws. Our development revealed and is revealing the increasing ability of the party promptly to realize the existing contradictions, to take their dialectics into consideration and to create objective and subjective conditions for their resolution by applying such an approach the party, the Central Committee and its general secretary personally elevate this requirement to the degree of fundamental leading principle in the theory and practice of our socialist construction. They developed this principle as an inseparable feature of the Leninist style of thinking and management. They steadily emphasize the role of criticism and self-criticism and themselves set the example of daring criticism and self-criticism.

It is on this basis, the basis of objective dialectics, that we try purposefully to guide and regulate the process of spontaneous development of individual phenomena and increasingly to master objective requirements. Naturally, this is not a rectilinear process without its internal contradictions and even errors and weaknesses. As Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized in his lectures at the AONSU [Academy of Social Sciences and Economic Management], our path has not exclusively followed the peak of successes, for we have not always adequately considered the effect of objective laws and have not always systematically conducted ourselves consistently.

Life is a complex and dynamically developing reality which is not always consistent with our anticipated concepts and formulations. In this connection, it is possible that at any given point the activities of one or another unit of the subjective factor may not be consistent with the requirements of objective laws and clash with them. Our party is a party of realism, of sober consideration of contradictions arising at each stage of social development. However, nor are we fatalists. We know from personal example that it is precisely socialism that is a society which must necessarily restrict uncontrolled development, strengthen planning and promote free conscious activities in all areas. This precisely is the basic trend which guides our overall social development.

Secondly, it is a question of the objective need for the subjective factor to enrich the content, forms and structure of its activities and to develop itself and function in a way adequate to the requirements of social laws.

The April period in the development of our society has been a time of fruitful and systematically implemented activities in this respect as well.

Such activities reached a new stage after the 12th Party Congress, when we undertook to make new and profound changes in the structure and functions of the party, state, social and economic organs and the assertion of forms and mechanisms which would enable the fuller manifestation of the labor and social activeness of the people's masses. One of the most important laws of our development, as Comrade T. Zhivkov stressed, is the increasing ideologizing of all social areas. This calls for the steady intensification of the tie between ideological activities and life, the creative development of theory, the increased ability practically to master objective laws, the intensification of our vigilance and militancy in terms of bourgeois ideology, and so on.

Thirdly, it is a question of the fact that as our social life goes forth and as it matures, the scope of the socialist subjective factor legitimately expands as well. The main trend in this process, as our experience has indicated, is the increasing and fuller assertion of the labor collectives as the full subjective factor. It is on this basis that economic, legal and organizational mechanisms are being formulated to enhance the role of labor collectives and to develop the creative principle of the subjective factor and its ability to inspire, mobilize and organize for the sake of the assignments which are formulated with the active and conscious participation of the socialist working people.

IV

The mastery and full use of the social laws governing our socialist society become the more successful and fruitful the more completely and consistently we apply the creative power of the April line as Marxism-Leninism in action, consistent with our specific circumstances.

We have learned this from past experience in Bulgaria's development on the path of building mature socialism.

We have been taught this by the lessons from the struggle for the systematic implementation of the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference.

The constant search for new solutions and new ways and means which would make our activities more purposeful and efficient are the meaning and content of the stipulation formulated and substantiated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of the need for a new revolutionary-type thinking in everything and everywhere and the need for a radical change in our way of thinking and our approach, as well as a more than ever necessary revolutionary turn in thinking and approach to the tasks relative to the further building of socialism.

Today this view is of decisive significance in the implementation of our programs. The core of the requirement of achieving a revolutionary turn in thinking and in the approach leading to the discovery of new ideas and solutions is work creativity, the ability to think with the criterion not only of

the present but the future. It is a question of something exceptionally important, necessary and promising: "breakthroughs" in all activities and all areas, and enhancing the quality standard in all activities. We have reached the level of development which both enables us and demands of us major "breakthroughs." The use of such opportunities today is the prime task of the entire subjective factor.

The implementation of this requirement presumes the steady enrichment of our knowledge of the internal laws and characteristics of the contemporary stage and the complex processes which occur in our social life.

In the period after the 12th Party Congress the party's intensive theoretical work was impressively revealed in the formulation of a number of essential laws of our social development. These laws were theoretically formulated and substantiated in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's work "Problems and Approaches in Building the True Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic," which is an outstanding example and model of revolutionary thinking and combining revolutionary thinking with revolutionary action; it is a model of a major scientific breakthrough of tremendous theoretical and practical significance.

The first main law is related to the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of building mature socialism.

As we know, unity among socialism, science and technology has been a long-discussed topic. The question of combining the advantages of socialism with scientific and technical progress and utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution has been frequently raised in our country. What is new at this point?

What is new now deals above all with the fact that the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution determines the building of the material and technical foundations for mature socialism, the drastic enhancement of social labor productivity and the overall identification of the advantages of socialism. Only thus shall we be able to achieve a powerful upsurge in the development of production forces and intensify the economy and, therefore, as Comrade T. Zhivkov says, to close the gap between us and the most developed capitalist countries in areas where they enjoy temporary advantages in the field of the economy, and open the gap in our favor.

What is also new is the fact that today we have created in our country the most important conditions for achieving this objective: the development of a powerful industrial base and a scientific and technical potential; we have gained experience in the accelerated development and utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

As a result of the party's accurate policy, our country acquired major international positions in the realm of economics and scientific and technical progress. We have specialized in areas such as lifting machine building, electronics, chemistry and pharmaceuticals. Retaining these positions and consolidating and expanding them is a particularly important task.

The further implementation of the scientific and technical revolution under the current conditions of building mature socialism in our country is related to the party's comprehensive efforts to make use of the type of practical approaches, mechanisms and forms such as selective scientific development, concentration of efforts in strategic directions such as electronics, micro-electronics in particular, biotechnology, lasers, optical electronics, etc.; the development of new materials based on essentially new raw materials available to our economy; applying efficient economic and organizational incentives for the elimination of the "no-man's-land" between science and production; establishing new types of application organizations unrestricted by departmental and sectorial barriers; assuming responsibility for scientific and technical progress to the heads of the individual units and linking their wages and positions to its application; elaboration of a comprehensive approach which will ensure the necessary resources, cadres and skills for the implementation of all scientific and technical programs, etc.

Another major law at the present stage is the improvement of socialist social relations and, particularly, relations between the owner and manager of socialist property as the core of this process.

The revolutionary nature of the stipulation of the owner and the manager is that it answers the major problem of how to determine and develop the most efficient economic connection among individual, collective and social interests under the conditions of the socialist ownership of productive capital in which private ownership interest and initiative cannot motivate human behavior. Such an effective tie between people and productive capital can be achieved through the collective as the manager of socialist property.

This formulation earmarks the main way along which socialist social relations will be improved and a qualitatively new level of activeness of the individual and the labor collective will be achieved and basic problems of production intensification will be resolved. It ensures the fuller utilization of social production reserves for substantially enhancing labor productivity. The implementation of this stipulation provides qualitatively new conditions for the development of socialist democracy and the involvement of millions of people in our country in managing the economy in social and cultural processes.

After the 12th Congress the party purposefully formulated and applied practical approaches and social mechanisms for the manifestation and successful utilization of the law of the relationship between the owner and manager of socialist property. The main feature here is the elaboration of a new labor code and the improvement of the economic mechanism through which the labor collective acquires new rights and obligations in drafting and adopting counterplans, strengthening labor discipline, choosing economic managers, making decisions on the use of social funds, etc. The piece-rate principle becomes a particularly important economic base for the interrelationship between the state as the owner and the collective as the manager; its application so far in agriculture and construction and in other areas has revealed exceptionally great opportunities.

The other main law at the present stage is manifested in the objective effect of the law of value and related commodity-monetary relations.

We have today the most necessary conditions for the full and efficient utilization of commodity-monetary relations as a powerful ally in the development of socialist ownership, the growth of the public wealth, the enhancement of the living standards of the people and the advancement of our socialist society. The BCP takes into consideration the fact that as socialist social relations mature the possibilities increase for the more comprehensive manifestation of this law and for its greater mastery over the subjective factor. That is why the most essential feature in the party's activities after the 12th Congress was the search and discovery of increasingly efficient practical approaches and social technologies for the successful manifestation of this law and for its utilization in resolving the qualitatively new problems of our development.

The basic practical means of utilization of the law of value and related levers is the economic approach and its mechanism. In recent years its application has been an important factor in our production intensification. The experience acquired on the basis of this application is particularly important in terms of enhancing production quality and developing scientific and technical progress.

The main law of the current stage in our development is the increased role of the people's masses as the makers of history and the development of socialist democracy as a prime condition for the further advancement of the entire political system.

In studying social development as a natural historical process, Marx and Engels formulated the general sociological law of the steadily increasing role of the masses and their participation in social development and their active actions in history.¹¹ According to Lenin, this is "one of the most profound and most important concepts" of Marxism.¹²

The socialist revolution became a crucial moment in the historical creativity and socially transforming activities of millions of working people. In recent years, with the building of mature socialism new conditions and opportunities developed in our country for the application of this law.

The scale and complexity of building socialism, the scientific and technical revolution and comprehensive intensification objectively intensify the process of social activeness and creativity of the individual in the solution of the new problems. They mean that "at each workplace and in each settlement, in each organizational-management unit the working person must enhance his participation in resolving the problems and tasks in economic, political and cultural construction; the political activeness of all working people must be enhanced and a new upsurge and blossoming of the person's creative forces must be attained."¹³

The foundation on which this law is developed is the following: changes in the material and technical base and the socioclass structure of society; the effect of the economic mechanism; the moral and political unity of the people rallied around the April party line and the people's higher educational standard; the increased competence and political standard of the working people;

the experience acquired in the sociostate and state-social principle; and the democratic traditions of our people.

The practical approaches and social mechanisms created to this effect are aimed at improving both direct and representative democracy. The main thing, figuratively speaking, is shifting the center of gravity from the top to the bottom of the social pyramid and the creation of interests, rights and possibilities which enhance the role and obligation of the primary units in the political system.

An exceptionally important social law is currently manifested in the development of the socialist community: the enhancement of cooperation and integration among CEMA members, which have reached a higher stage through their coordinated economic policy.

This law, as our first party and state leader emphasizes, is determined by the intensification of the trend of production internationalization in the socialist community. The historical decisions passed at the summit economic meeting of CEMA member countries, which took place in Moscow in June 1984, offer new more favorable conditions for its application and utilization. By emphasizing the decisive contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet state to reaching the planned objectives, the BCP proceeds from the stipulation that the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the conference is a prime task of the party, state and social organs and organizations and all working people in our country.

The most topical example of a Leninist attitude toward the requirements of reality and its laws and trends in terms of revolutionary thinking is Comrade Todor Zhivkov's formulation of the problem of quality as the radical problem of our social development at the present stage. Both at the Varna conference as well as at the National Party Conference he earmarked the solution of quality problems as a vital need of our development in the future and drew on the basis of reality itself the ways, means and methods to be used in order to achieve high quality everywhere and in everything. Nothing here is fictitious or artificial. Everything is made of flesh and blood. This is the most profound guarantee that the party has promptly identified the social problem, that it is realistically assessing its depth and comprehensiveness and that it has provided an accurate stipulation as to what should be done and what should be done as Lenin said. This is a true guarantee of success in such an important national project.

The requirements of the objective laws cannot be implemented automatically, by themselves. This process can be planned and efficient only when the subjective factor seeks, discovers and provides new creative formulations, when it transforms such formulations into effective approaches, and when on this basis it improves the political line and mobilizes the broad popular masses and all public forces for its implementation. The subjective factor plays a particularly responsible role in rejecting what is old and obsolete and creating and asserting qualitatively new concepts and approaches.

Unity of revolutionary thinking and practical work are today of determining significance in the implementation of our plans. One and only one criterion exists in achieving such unity: "action, action and only action!"

In addition to other factors, the strength of our party is that in the efforts to implement the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, using the tremendous ideological and theoretical wealth contained in the post-congress developments, it enhanced to a new level the unity of theoretical thinking and practical activities.

In the period which followed the 12th Party Congress exceptionally important steps were taken of tremendous significance in the country's overall development. These were measures for the development of the strategic trends of scientific and technical progress, the further development of the material and technical base, decisive improvements in quality, improving the economic approach and its mechanism, consolidating and simplifying organizational-management structures, reducing the administrative apparatus, enhancing the people's living standard, developing the conurbation systems, improving ideological work, and so on.

We can clearly say that there are no areas or trends of our development in which the need for revolutionary thinking and a decisive turn in our work-style is not manifested. This need is an indicator of the high level of maturity of society. It is also a manifestation of the urgent need to advance, not to be the slave of obsolete stereotypes, boldly to introduce new ways and means of work and become imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the constructive power of millions of people. It is particularly important today to develop a social atmosphere and an effective organization of work in which formalism and stereotype, lack of discipline and irresponsibility have no place. We need organizational and political work whose criteria are those of the National Party Conference for high quality and efficiency everywhere and in everything.

The party of the Bulgarian communists, the party of the April renovation of our homeland, which took Bulgaria to its present historical heights, is a party of sacred dissatisfaction with successes. Brimming with historical optimism and with the resolve to apply new revolutionary concepts and approaches, it is confidently leading our people to the future higher peaks, to mature socialism and, in the future, to communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov. "Problemi i Potkhodi na Izgrazhdaneto na Zreliya Sotsializum v NR Bulgariya" [Problems and Approaches in Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic]. Partizdat, 1984, p 258.
2. G. Dimitrov, "Such." [Works], Vol 14, 1955, p 347.
3. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such." [Selected Works], Vol 22, p 433.
4. Ibid., Vol 4, p 184.
5. Ibid.
6. T. Zhivkov. "Dvanadesetiyat Kongres na BKP i po-Natatushното Izgrazhdane na Zreliya Sotsializum" [The 12th BCP Congress and the Further Building of Mature Socialism]. Partizdat, 1982, p 406.

7. "Programa na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya" [Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party]. Partizdat, 1971, p 39.
8. "Dvanadesetiyat Kongres na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya. Dokladi i Resheniya" [The 12th BCP Congress. Reports and Resolutions]. Partizdat, 1981, p 133.
9. T. Zhivkov. [See footnote 1], p 299.
10. Ibid., p 293.
11. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such.," Vol 2, p 88.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 2, p 529.
13. T. Zhivkov. [See Note 1], p 188.

Technical Progress in Building Socialism

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 39-50

[Article by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The building of a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic is the immediate historical task of the BCP and the Bulgarian people. Our experience and the experience of the fraternal socialist countries confirmed that this is a complex and lengthy period in the course of which a material and technical base adequate for mature socialism and consistent with the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and peak scientific and technical achievements must be developed.

The BCP has always paid prime attention to problems of building the material and technical foundations for socialism, which it has considered the center of its scientific and technical and economic policy. The desire of resolving the problems of the country's socioeconomic development in a state of organic unity with and on the basis of scientific and technical progress has been a characteristic feature of our Leninist party's April policy.

One of the most essential contributions made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the theory and practice of building socialism in our country are his theoretical developments and practical approaches, developed after the 12th Party Congress, of laying the material and technical foundations of a developed socialist society and the qualitatively new role of science and scientific and technical progress. They reflect to the greatest extent his Leninist style of thinking and acting and his ability to enrich the theory of Marxism-Leninism in building a developed socialist society creatively, under our specific circumstances, together with the development and enrichment of the historical process and global revolutionary experience.

This ability, farsightedness and foresight provided by the Central Committee, under the leadership and influence of Todor Zhivkov's comprehensive theoretical, political and organizational activities, enabled us to develop a material and technical base of tremendous dimensions, considering the scale of our country, and to ensure the timely priority development of the sectors which are the main carriers of technical progress, thus placing Bulgaria among the producers of most advanced equipment. The accuracy of the Leninist April line of accelerated development of the material and technical base of developed socialist society and the dynamic development of the economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress may be seen today particularly clearly from the historical height of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The building of the material and technical base of mature socialism in Bulgaria is occurring simultaneously and in a state of organic unity with the implementation of a comprehensive intensification of the national economy and of all areas of social life.

"It is impossible today successfully to lay a material and technical foundation consistent with mature socialism without making the fullest possible use of intensive factors in all sectors and realms of activity; it is equally impossible to implement a course of comprehensive intensification without making most effective use of the existing material and technical base."¹

An organic tie and interdependence exist between scientific and technical progress and the material and technical base. The interaction between scientific and technical progress and the material and technical base of society is manifested in several directions.

To begin with, scientific and technical progress is the main factor in upgrading the quality standard of the material and technical base through the application of the latest scientific and technical achievements--technologies, materials, and ways and means of organization and management. They are the base of the progressive changes in the structure of the material and technical base. Scientific and technical progress offers possibilities of updating and enhancing to a qualitatively new level the already existing material and technical base and its more efficient utilization.

Not the least important factor in scientific and technical progress is its contribution to enhancing the role and significance of the material and technical base in improving the industrial and natural environment and improving the standards of health care, sports, education, culture, etc.

At the same time, the level of the material and technical base defines the rates of development of scientific and technical progress and the application of the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution.

In accordance with the party's stipulation on the qualitatively new role of science and technical progress and converting science into a direct production force, our country has systematically pursued a line of organically

combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. A tremendous amount of work was done to provide all the necessary political, economic and organizational conditions for building a national scientific front and for developing and extensively applying scientific and technical progress.

Furthermore, the party's Central Committee proceeded from the understanding that our science cannot develop separately from world science and that we must most actively participate in socialist scientific and technical integration. "The new conditions," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, "require new criteria, a new approach to science and technology. We must surmount traditional thinking and national limitations. We must dream, plan and work on the basis of the gigantic scale of the scientific and technical revolution, the international division of labor on a global scale and our rapprochement with the Soviet Union and cooperation with the other CEMA members."²

To us, as Comrade T. Zhivkov has frequently emphasized, the closest possible link and integration with the Soviet scientific units is a key direction in our scientific and technical policy. It is the path we have followed and will continue to follow, for this path is an expression of the selfless Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and the great reciprocal trust existing between our parties. It is also one of the main forms of implementation of the course of comprehensive rapprochement.

The resolutions of the 9th Party Congress and the party program it adopted, and of the 11th and, particularly, the 12th Congress, and the theoretical developments and practical approaches formulated by Comrade T. Zhivkov earmark a qualitatively new stage in the development of the Leninist April line in the field of scientific and technical progress and in laying the material and technical foundations for a developed socialist society. They determined that science must reach a level in the course of which all activities--political, economic, ideological and managerial--be conducted on a scientific basis in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. They provided a new impetus to the work of party, state and economic organs and organizations in implementing scientific and technical strategy and comprehensively apply scientific and technical progress and high efficiency and quality in public production.

In order to meet the requirements of the new stage in building socialism better, the party's Central Committee devoted tremendous efforts to improve the organizational structure of the economic and scientific management system. It realized that under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution the effective development of production forces and the production process would be inconceivable without the accelerated application of its achievements. New equipment and technology were created and mastered and became increasingly complex under its influence. For this reason the problem of relating and integrating science with production and the management of this process became exceptionally important.

The stipulation consistent with the requirements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution of organically linking science with production

from the positions of the economic approach and the establishment of cost accounting and self-support, with a view to closing the "science-production-marketing" cycle is of essential significance in this respect. In order to meet these requirements and to enable the scientific organizations to concentrate on the solution of topical problems which the economy, major changes took place in their organization. Efforts were made radically to reorganize scientific services in production and for the scientific units to become an inseparable part of the overall reproduction process and to engineering organizations of a qualitatively new type as part of the economic combines and organizations which, on the basis of comprehensive programs, should change both the items they produce and the technologies and organization of their work and engage in intensive scientific activities. This creates conditions for a drastic enhancement in the quality of scientific services of the national economy and the establishment of a firm organic tie between science and production and turning science and technical progress into basic economic intensification factors.

The systematic implementation of the scientific and technical policy of the party and its concern for strengthening and developing the material and cadre base of science as a decisive factor in the accelerated and contemporary development of the material and technical base of the developed socialist society brought about radical changes in this area. Today our country has a scientific and technical potential developed in terms of its conditions and possibilities. Today some 80,000 people are employed in science and application, more than 23,000 of whom are scientific workers. Another 300,000 university-trained specialists are employed in the various economic sectors. The cadre scientific potential is distributed relatively evenly in the basic areas of scientific, training and engineering-application activities. A number of new promising scientific areas were developed and given priority. Scientific units are becoming increasingly related with and directly involved with the utilization of the achievements of contemporary scientific and technical progress. A number of specialists, scientific organizations and institutes have scored good achievements and can resolve the major and complex problems of production, and technological and nonproduction activities on a high professional standard in laying the material and technical foundations of the socialist society.

The progress of our scientific thinking during the period of building socialism has been increasingly consistent with its material upsurge and made its significant contribution in this respect. At the same time, the scientific front in the Bulgarian People's Republic has been developing in most close contact and integration with the scientific units of the fraternal socialist countries, Soviet science above all. This is a major prerequisite and a secure guarantee for the upsurge of our science and for reaching even greater successes in the development and application of the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Our country is actively participating and extensively using all forms of international scientific and technical cooperation. A large percentage of the crucial problems related to the further dynamic development of the strategic directions--electronics, robotics and chemistry--are included in the joint programs and plans of Bulgarian and Soviet ministries and departments. Most of the basic sectors,

such as metallurgy, nuclear power energy and heavy machine building--which determine the efficiency of the production process--are the result of Bulgarian-Soviet scientific and technical and production-economic cooperation. This unification of efforts and opportunities is a qualitatively new phenomenon which leads to significantly higher and mutually profitable results. It multiplies our strength and leads to the maximal utilization and application of the achievements of other countries, particularly that of the Soviet Union with its tremendous scientific and technical potential.

The fullest possible consideration with the trend and pace of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution enables us promptly to assess the great importance of an objective need to develop the strategic directions of scientific and technical progress--electronics, robotics, chemistry, biology and the production of automation means and systems. It enables us not only to appreciate them but to create conditions for their development in our country. A number of national and sectorial comprehensive programs for scientific and technical progress were formulated and approved. They are the base of the structural changes which will take place in the national economy during the 8th Five-Year Plan and through 1990.

The development of national and sectorial programs was consistent with the requirement of enhancing the technical standard of production and the quality of output and the comprehensive intensification of public production. This implemented to a great extent the party's strategy of converting material production and all other realms of the social organism to the track of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution which must become an inseparable feature of the way of life of each cell within society and of all social activity. An integral manifestation of all of this should be to ensure the substantial increase in public labor productivity within a short period of time.

By supporting the general party line of Bulgarian industrialization, formulated at the 5th Congress, the April Central Committee Plenum enriched and developed it further under specific circumstances. It is a noteworthy fact that the restoration of the course of industrialization of the country meets the requirements of the developing technical revolution. As early as the 7th Party Congress, with revolutionary daring and optimism Comrade Todor Zhivkov reformulated the question of our industrialization. Socialist construction was directed toward the accelerated establishment of a tie between two epochs of technical progress--the industrial and the scientific and technical revolution. "The world," he said, "is at the dawn of a new technical revolution which is characterized by the gradual utilization of new sources of energy, nuclear energy in particular, production automation and their control, and the use of semiconductors and man-made materials.... We must already think seriously and work on such problems. We must study and utilize the achievements of contemporary science and technology...."³

Based on the objective requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the task of the accelerated building of the material and technical base, the party dedicated incredible efforts to develop the production potential of the national economy and a pace and level which would enable the

Bulgarian People's Republic to reach and to equal the level of the industrially developed countries.

The accelerated industrialization, dynamics and depth of the structural changes in public production took place under the influence and impact of the development of scientific and technical progress. The overall nature of development of industry as a whole and its subsectors changed radically. The production of productive capital developed particularly rapidly, as a necessary prerequisite for the active establishment of a qualitatively new technical base for production and the replacement of manual with machine labor and upgrading social labor productivity. At the same time, the party's Central Committee took into consideration the requirements of the future, the factors which are characteristic features in the development of the material and technical base of the mature socialist society.

In this respect the multiplication approach developed under Comrade Todor Zhivkov's guidance was of exceptional importance. It enabled us to reassess the problems, to earmark the ways to their resolution and, with less effort and investments, using the advantages of the socialist system, comprehensively to resolve a tremendous range of reciprocally related problems. This, essentially, is the party policy of purposeful and consistent concentration and specialization of production and of gradual development of capacities and building optimal production units.

The implementation of the April industrialization policy ensured the priority development of production and sector as bearers of technical progress and of decisive importance in the technical retooling of the national economy.

Machine building, the production of high efficiency machines with integrated systems, machine systems, technological lines and complete projects, mechanical manipulators and robots were given a strong impetus. Bulgaria became a major producer and assumed a leading position in the socialist community in the computer area. Unquestionable successes were achieved in mastering and producing memory systems on magnetic disks and tape, small and large computers, microprocessor systems and other electronic equipment. We developed our own microelectronic base and mastered the production of digital program controls and systems for controlling large-scale chemical installations, electric power and metallurgical capacities and many others. Significant production and technical experience was acquired in the field of automation systems and facilities.

New features were introduced in the further progressive development of the intrasectorial structure of the chemical industry--one of the basic factors in broadening the raw material base of the country, reducing energy intensiveness and enriching the variety of highly efficient chemical products in demand domestically and in the international market. On the basis of the accelerated application of the achievements of science and technology low-tonnage chemistry, the production of catalytic agents and auxiliary means for industry, chemically pure substances and reagents, pharmaceuticals, plastics, rubber and others developed at a high pace on the basis of the accelerated application of scientific and technological accomplishments. Significant

progress was made in the microbiological industry in which our efforts are concentrated in the rapid development of some base directions related to upgrading the efficiency of agriculture and the food industry and the production of pharmaceuticals.

Changes are taking place in ferrous metallurgy. The production of high-grade and special steels and steel items is increasing and their technological foundation is improving. Conditions are being created for the elaboration and application of new highly efficient materials and goods. Great progress has been achieved in powder metallurgy and metal ceramics.

Substantial intrastructural changes have taken place in the other economic sectors and industry related to the discovery and application of new technologies and new raw and other materials and energy sources. These changes are creating significant opportunities for the further intensification of the economy and for a lasting and effective satisfaction of the steadily growing needs of society.

The development of scientific and technical progress and, on this basis, the improvement of the economic structure created objective conditions for the even more comprehensive and extensive retooling of the material and technical base of the entire national economy and the even more active and efficient participation of the country in the international division of labor.

At the present stage, when extensive factors of economic growth have become virtually exhausted, the main path followed in our socioeconomic development is one of economic intensification and drastic enhancement of social labor productivity. This radical problem will determine the qualitatively new nature of the development of industry and the economy. It can and must be resolved through comprehensive automation and production mechanization, the mass study, dissemination and application of leading Bulgarian and foreign experience, combined with the comprehensive application of the new economic approach and its mechanism and the social organization of labor.

These are the main directions and practical approaches to building our own material and technical base of mature socialism.

As we pointed out, the prerequisites exist. They are available in the area of the scientific-cadre potential and in the subsectors producing automation and cybernetization facilities. These are the tremendous accomplishments of the Leninist April policy of the party. The BCP Central Committee, which gives them a deservedly high rating, believes that today, from the positions of our achievements and the experience acquired in the world and the trends reached in the development of technical progress, we must rapidly reorganize and extensively apply the new forms and approaches in building the material and technical base of the developed socialist society.

Automation was proclaimed the strategic direction at the 12th BCP Congress. Comrade Todor Zhivkov noted in his lectures that "the first trend is comprehensive automation carried out through the building of automated cybernetic systems in production and other social areas. Henceforth this is our first

and most important strategic task in the further development of the material and technical base of mature socialism."⁴

The qualitative changes which are the result of automation in labor objects and tools introduce basic changes in the nature and essence of the production process. It is a question of a conversion from traditional production, inherent in the industrial age, to flexible production which can rapidly and economically be retuned efficiently to produce new commodities and to change production variety. The technical foundation for this at this stage is found mainly in electronic computers and other automation facilities and robots. That is why the main task now is the development of systems for flexible production and for increasing the production of industrial robots, manipulators and robot-oriented technological automation modules.

The process of penetration of electronics into all production and nonproduction areas of human activities, particularly through automation, will be established over the next 20 years as the main axis along which the social structures of developed societies will be reorganized.

At the present stage designing, building and operating contemporary continuing production facilities is impossible without automatic controls because of the great capacities and speeds and complex links among material, energy and information flows within them. Automation alone can ensure that economic processes are consistent with the stipulated economic and technical parameters and under optimal and, in some cases, even borderline conditions.

At the present stage the base at which productive capital is renovated in individual sectors, ministries and economic organizations is of essential importance in the application of contemporary systems for the automation of technological processes. They must maintain an optimal correlation between the value of the technological equipment and the share of funds invested in its automation. The simultaneous application of contemporary automation systems is frequently related not only to the replacement of contemporary automation systems of morally obsolete technological equipment but the conversion to progressive technologies suitable for automation.

The application of production automation should parallel automation in design-engineering activities, which enables us to penetrate a number of intellectual activities. This line offers extensive opportunities for accelerating and reducing the cost of public production and for a conversion to better design quality and output. The effect of design automation is comprehensive. It is manifested during the design stage and is fully manifested in production. It is substantially increased in consumption through the quality and reliability of the output.

The automation of management and economic activities supplements production automation and is an inseparable part of the comprehensive automation systems. It enables us to manage available resources more efficiently. It enhances labor productivity and reduces administrative-managerial personnel and leads to the fuller utilization of productive capital and to the conservation of raw and other materials and energy.

The results achieved in the development of computers in our country and the good scientific and technical experience which we have acquired and the existing cadre potential are good prerequisites for the computer industry successfully to resolve new strategic problems during the 9th Five-Year Plan as set by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to Bulgarian machine building and electronics in expanding and consolidating the existing and gaining new positions in the international division of labor. The basic trends in the future development will be personal computers, applied microcomputer systems and microterminals, minicomputers and corresponding systems, large computer systems and means for remote control processing and management equipment. Particular attention is being paid to the development of program support for increasing the share of systems production. Major efforts are being made to develop instrument manufacturing.

The elaboration of new and improvement of existing construction materials is an essential feature of scientific and technical progress at the present stage. Currently they are being developed in scientific laboratories so that tomorrow they may become the construction materials of the future. Unquestionably, the 1980s will be a decade of new materials. The success and efficiency of industrial sectors such as machine building, electronics, the communications industry, the chemical industry and ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy will largely depend on achievements in the field of new materials. The development of new materials is most frequently directed toward obtaining materials with extreme qualities--super pure, super hard and super resistant to high or low temperatures or possessing a combination of such properties. The various requirements are met with the different types of materials such as combinations, metal ceramics, mineral ceramics, polymers, monocrystals, polycrystal materials, amorphous metal alloys, and others.

The implementation of this strategic direction in scientific and technical progress in our country is taking place in a variety of areas such as metal ceramics, mineral ceramics, plastics, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and others.

As was emphasized at the 12th Party Congress, new technologies lay a key role under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. It is a question not only of replacing familiar technologies with more efficient ones but developing and mastering the use of essentially new technological areas. The significance and participation of biotechnology in resolving vitally important problems of mankind is increasing and our party is paying great attention to this matter. This is based on the essential idea of the future structure reorganization of the economy and the gradual conversion from material-intensive to science-intensive items and the use of wasteless technologies. Toward the end of our century biotechnology will play a leading role in the production and consumption structure. In terms of its global significance this process will be the equivalent of a "fourth scientific and technical revolution" after the mastery of nuclear power, the emergence of mankind in outer space and the upsurge of electronics and computers.

Based on the understanding that today optical electronics and laser equipment and technology are among the strategic trends of scientific and technical progress, the party sets important tasks relative to their development. This

is determined by the circumstance that they are a decisive prerequisite for the further development of communication, information and computer technology because of their essential advantages such as high spectral density and power of generated light radiation; high-level noise abatement and reliability; higher information capacity compared with electronic systems; small-dimension and weight and a considerably reduced power consumption.

Optical electronic systems and technologies offer extensive opportunities for combining them with microprocessor equipment and means of automation and robot utilization and the creation of a new generation of control-measuring high-precision equipment and mass utilization in industry and communications equipment, data processing and storage, medicine, agriculture, navigation, mining, science, military affairs and other economic sectors.

At the present stage in our development the fast development of a domestic production of contemporary technological systems is an essential problem in updating the material and technical base on a new technological foundation. The pace of renovation of technology in the world is so high that consumers of such equipment, who are most familiar with production technology and organization, have themselves turned into producers. That is why the task now is for each economic organization to produce a significant share of the specialized technological equipment it requires. This will enable us, on the basis of our original solutions and purchased equipment and technology to produce new technological equipment, which is a prerequisite for the application of advanced technologies. This will ensure a higher pace of renovation of productive capital, which is one of the main prerequisites for achieving high production quality.

The dynamism of the scientific and technical revolution objectively necessitated the need for the steady renovation and retooling of the elements of the material and technical base and their steady consistency with the requirements and characteristics of the most progressive technical accomplishments. This is an exceptionally important prerequisite which will enable the material and technical base to meet a level consistent with the criteria of technological maturity and its consistency with the developed socialist society.

The implementation of the technical retooling of the material and technical base in accordance with the requirements of a developed socialist society and on the basis of the highest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution required substantial improvements in our investment policy: capital investments must be concentrated on updating the production process with technologies on the level of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Again with a view to such requirements we must continue to improve the sectorial structure of the national economy with a view to ensuring the planned and harmonious development of the material and technical base of mature socialism.

The problems of technological updating and enhancing technological standards are important. No less important, however, is the problem of achieving an

optimal sectorial specialization of the economy. In accordance with the party stipulations we are systematically pursuing a course of harmonious development of the various sectors in accordance with national resources, the country's requirements and the stipulations of the international division of labor. The essential base for improving the sectorial structure is the accelerated development of the sectors creating automation and mechanization facilities for the intensification and intellectualizing of all realms and areas of activity.

The task of rapidly applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress through the construction of small enterprises has assumed equal significance. A rapid investment process, limited capital investments and vast capital recovery, a flexible market strategy and tactics and vanguard technologies and limited economic risk are some of the advantages offered by small enterprises.

Improving the control mechanisms of scientific and technical progress is not the least important feature. The changes caused by the scientific and technical revolution are having a substantial impact on the strategy and tactics of contemporary scientific and technical policy. The role and significance of this policy has increased drastically. Our scientific and technical policy, as we emphasized, is the April policy in science and technical progress. It is distinguished by its purposefulness, constructive nature and high-level organization. The main and essential feature of the national scientific and technical policy is its selective nature. The selective approach has contributed to the proper target orientation of the scientific and technical potential toward the complex and responsible problems of the material and technical base of the developed socialist society. This strategy is contributing to the organized technological progress in shaping new sectors, retooling a number of production facilities and harmoniously developing the sectorial production structure.

Regardless of the unquestionable successes achieved on the scientific and technical front, our present stage objectively demands a new and even broader advance on the scientific and technical front. It is a question of mastering new peaks, new achievements in the scientific and technical revolution. Never before have our party and state faced so urgently the problem of mastering the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution. Particularly relevant today is Lenin's statement that "we shall either master superior technology or perish."

All of this requires the further development of the principles and, particularly, the approaches to resolving the complex and responsible problems of scientific and technical development. It is a question above all of achieving powerful and stable "breakthroughs" on the scientific and technical front, which would multiply labor productivity, save on material and manpower resources, update the production machinery on an essentially new technological basis, broaden our markets and create conditions for gaining new positions in the international division of labor.

It is hardly necessary to substantiate the view that the development of the material and technical base resting on the scientific and technical revolution

exclusively depends on the subjective factor, on the role, place, skill and professional motivations of the individual specialists. Today the cadres are resolving problems of the scientific and technical revolution. Without the elaboration and implementation of an efficient and effective policy in this respect we shall be unable to implement our plans in the fields of science and technical progress. That is why the party pays exceptional attention to the training and retraining of cadres on all levels and to organization and discipline in all activities.

In pursuing the line of accelerated development of the material and technical base of the developed socialist society, the party takes into consideration the exceptionally favorable influence and conditions which are created for us through our participation in the international socialist economic integration and, above all, the all-round cooperation and rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Particularly important in this respect are the resolutions of the Moscow summit conference on economic problems of the socialist members of CEMA. They enable us to assume on an even greater scope and scale the building of the material and technical base of mature socialism through the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

At the same time, more rapidly and durably, based on the positions of the future and the stipulations of the National Party Conference, we must resolve the problems of quality and reliability of output in order to establish our position increasingly and more efficiently in the international markets and enhance the prestige of Bulgarian products.

The 12th Party Congress drew a balance of our accomplishments along the way earmarked at the April BCP Central Committee Plenum. Today, with the passage of time, the accuracy and strength of this policy are becoming increasingly clear. It binds together the experience of the past, today's bright situation of the country and our most daring plans for the future. As the echo of the objective requirements and laws of the contemporary stage in building a developed socialist society, this policy will continue to be fully implemented through the comprehensive activities of our party and its Central Committee.

The formulations and developments relative to scientific and technical progress and building the material and technical base of mature socialism, drawn up by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leader, are a stage in the creative development and enrichment of our theory and practice. The BCP is pursuing a proper long-term policy. This is our great accomplishment. The main thing now is for it to be implemented steadfastly and consistently.

This is guaranteed by the leading role of the party of Bulgarian communists and the active organizational and guiding activities of its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its general secretary.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov [see Footnote 1, Article 2], p 30.
2. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such.," Vol 3, pp 305-306.

3. Ibid., Vol 4, p 79.
4. T. Zhivkov [see Footnote 1], p 31.

Improvements in Political System

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 51-66

[Article by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the NRB]

[Text] The 9 September Socialist Revolution in our country destroyed the monarchical-fascist state system and laid the beginning of the building and development of the socialist political system.

In the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, this system, guided and directed by the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by G. Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, destroyed, step by step, the orders and vestiges of the old system and the encrustations of socioeconomic, social and cultural forms and manifestations. It built, brick by brick, the internal class unity of our people, promoted its internal and external security and enhanced our country's reputation in the international arena.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the victory of the socialist revolution was brilliantly confirmed and enriched in the struggle waged by the BCP against monarcho-fascism and the old, obsolete, backward and sectarian way of life. It purposefully took the direction of new overall progress in the country. It was along this way that it interpreted the political processes in our country, headed the struggle for a national democratic form of dictatorship of the proletariat and displayed a uniquely accurate historical sense in the choice of allies, both domestic and foreign. The first socialist state in the world--the Soviet Union--became our double liberator: our elder brother in the society of the fraternal socialist family--while Lenin's party became the model and teacher in the struggle for socialism and communism. Traditionally strong and monolithic in combat and labor, the party of Blagoev and Dimitrov found the strength within itself and was able to reject at its April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum anything which conflicted with its creative nature--subjectivism and the sequence of dogmatic concepts and actions relative to our economy, cadres, art and culture, thus taking the only true Marxist-Leninist path of creatively releasing all efforts and ensuring democratization in socioeconomic relations and high communist exigency toward its cadres and the efforts of the entire people. As a result of the radical economic, political, social, cultural and moral changes which have taken place over the past 40 years and, particularly, after the April Plenum, the exceptional results of a great historical accomplishment became apparent.

The building of a powerful material and technical base of socialism, the establishment of socialist social relations, the development of the socio-class structure of society and its progress toward social homogeneity, the establishment of a new, richer social individual and the strengthening of the

political unity of the people rallied around the April line and the party's policy and the historical objectives of the working class enabled us to assert and ensure the successful and efficient functioning of the streamlined structure of the socialist political system. This system extends to every single settlement, labor unit and collective within which one form of social life or another takes place and is acting in the interest of the people and the working man.¹

The road which was covered and the achievements of the people and the party over the past 40 years are historical accomplishments. This assessment shows our accomplishments, from the wooden plow to the manufacturing of Bulgarian outer space equipment, the building of a qualitatively new society resting on its own material and technical base and an essentially new "state-political machine." In 40 years the 9 September Socialist Revolution transformed our country. It enabled it to make a tremendous leap and to outstrip a number of countries which shared its low prewar level. Furthermore, today socialist Bulgaria is in the ranks of the most developed European countries as an advanced industrial country with a powerful base, modern industry and consolidated and mechanized agriculture. Its economy is developing dynamically. The living standard of the working people is improving steadily and consistently. Science and culture are blossoming. The new dimensions of its overall path determine the development of the socialist way of life in which the new socialist person is growing as a convinced fighter for the triumph of communism, daring toiler and creator, patriot and internationalist, with a new spirituality and morality and the feeling of being master of his destiny.

Figures are an eloquent indicator, although they are inadequate in describing the difficulties and cost of the distance covered by Bulgaria from 1939 (the highest level reached by capitalist Bulgaria) to the present. Nevertheless, today in less than 3 days the country's industrial output equals the output of all of 1939. Compared with the prewar period the overall industrial output has increased by a factor of 77; the production of productive capital has increased by a factor of 22 and consumer goods by a factor of 38, etc. Within that period the national income increased by a factor of 12.

Such are the successes of the single unity of thought and revolutionary path and victories achieved in all fields of life of our people under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The party is the backbone of the socialist political system and the leading force in society. It earned this role with its dedicated and selfless service to the working class and all working people. Under its leadership are people won in the class battle against the bourgeoisie. It made a socialist revolution and achieved all of its remarkable victories in building a new society and the triumph of communist ideas and ideals which captured the entire people and became their vital need. In following this bright path, through its self-development and advancement the BCP rose and reached its April peak. It earned the tremendous trust and love of the entire people, becoming its unquestionably political vanguard. This is a "great accomplishment of our political system."² This is the great foundation on the basis of which we ascribe the post-April period of our development as a period of historically substantiated example of the leading role of the BCP and its irreplaceable role and position in

this process and its leading cadres in this great cause and that of its great strategist, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary. It is precisely this period which became part of our latest history as a historical period, for it was able to find the most accurate answer to the questions historically asked by life: How are the lofty objectives, for which thousands of heroes died, practically achieved? How are the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin implemented in the development of the socialist revolution? How are the theory and practice of the party developed along this way, and how can the party be enabled to fulfill this mission most accurately and precisely? Today's Bulgaria has given a worthy answer to these questions, led by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

1. The Leading Role of the BCP in the Political System of Society

As the leading and conscious force in the revolution, the Bulgarian Communist Party is of decisive, of prime importance in the development of the socialist political system. This phenomenon is based on the Marxist-Leninist understanding of politics as a complex of views and corresponding activities "for or against" the interests of social groups within society, inevitably related to the question of the power and the state. To V. I. Lenin politics is the relationship among classes. It is the "actual fate of millions of people." Politics is wherever the millions of people are. "It is only there that serious politics begins...."³ It is the "cause of the people," the "cause of the proletariat." The most essential feature in V. I. Lenin's view on politics is the structure of the "state system."⁴

The BCP is implementing its leading role by exerting its full influence on the masses and its possibilities as their vanguard in rallying and directing their knowledge and efforts toward achieving their political and socio-economic objectives. It is on the basis of these positions that it is steadily intensifying its ties with the working people by ensuring the effectiveness of the entire political system and its advancement and development in accordance with the basic stipulations and requirements of the party's program for building a developed socialist society and the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, which is the embodiment of the real humanism and democracy of the socialist system. The people see in this manifestation the party's decisive sociopolitical force which guarantees the development of socialist democracy and accepts all of its decisions as its own.

The party's right of guiding the society and directing its entire life was acquired in the course of its struggle on behalf of the people and is entirely directed toward the preservation and development of the people's profound interests. This role, defined in Lenin's streamlined theory of the function and position of the communist party and the functions and social role of the socialist state and the tasks and objectives of the entire socialist political system, draws the shape of the entire global political system. Furthermore, with every passing day and in the struggle waged by one nation or another for socialism, Lenin's thesis that without the leading role of the communist party in the state and of the overall political system no socialist democracy can be achieved in society and the political system of socialism cannot be successfully developed and improved is confirmed.

The development of the political system under the conditions of building a mature socialist society also depends on and is implemented through the development of its three basic components: political relations, political institutions and the political consciousness of the people considered in their dialectical integrity.⁵

The party has always considered the problems of improving the political system in close relation with the development and interconnection of its components and the enrichment of their content and each of their development stages. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, it acts precisely as the "political guarantor not only of the proper functioning of the political system but its development and advancement as well."⁶ In this way, the party and its decisive and leading role are faced by the present with new and even stricter requirements and an even more specific character in structuring, operating and developing the political system and its structural institutions and units. At the present stage the role of the BCP is defined by the objective prerequisites of socioeconomic and social development and the growth, scale and complexity of the tasks of building developed socialist society, which requires a higher level of organizational-political leadership and the application of a scientific and comprehensive approach to social management. It is manifested in the high upsurge and creative activeness of the people and their broadest possible participation in the administration of the state and social activities and socialist reproduction and the further development of socialist democracy and the enhancement of the role of social organizations and primary organs and units in social management. The contemporary enrichment, study and application of the theory of scientific communism, its creative development and dissemination and the need to broaden the ways, means and methods of communist upbringing of the working people under the conditions of the rapid development of the scientific and technical revolution and its complex socioeconomic consequences are of decisive significance. The purpose of this revolution is to lead in the struggle against the growing offensive mounted by imperialism and reaction and to fight the vestiges of obsolete concepts in the minds of the people.

In steadily enriching its practical experience in the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and experience in socioeconomic development by defining ways and conceptual approaches, the party has formulated an accurate, scientifically substantiated course of action for the immediate and more distant stages in the development of our country. Particularly important in this respect are the resolutions of the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum and the party's program, which was further developed and expanded at the 11th and 12th congresses.⁷

We have currently become involved with an exceptionally fruitful activity in the creative development and enrichment of the party's April general line and its strategy and tactics and creative thoughts and practices. The theory elaborations formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his work "Problems and Approaches in Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic" and all of his statements after the congress, which are of fundamental programmatic significance in the implementation of the congress's resolutions, illuminate and direct our path to the successful development of the energy of

the party members and all working people. They enrich and arm us with new knowledge on the road to greater efficiency in our social development based on the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism. Thanks to them, today we are undertaking more zealously and purposefully the implementation of the resolutions of the January 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The long-term program for upgrading quality, adopted at the National Party Conference, is the direct extension of the April line and policy of direct implementation of contemporary principles of organization, management and control of public production in order to achieve higher results and successes by our socialist society. It is an indivisible part of the overall strategy of building mature socialism in our country and a new manifestation of the Leninist April line of profound changes and dynamic development, advancement and upsurge.

In reasserting the fact that "the April line in building the political system is not an application of ready-made systems and cliches or a mechanical duplication of foreign experience or an implementation of artificial political organs on Bulgarian economic activity" but a "creative application of the general principles and laws of Marxism-Leninism,"⁸ Comrade Todor Zhivkov developed in his works the ideas of the development of representative and direct democracy, the economic foundation of socialist democracy, the increasing role of sociopolitical and mass organizations, the expanded application of the sociostate and state-social principle and the role of the working person and the primary units as the main content in the processes of advancement of our political system. Essentially, these elaborations are the true platform of the BCP for the development of the political system under the conditions of building a developed socialist society. This is a creative process which parallels the problems of life in the course of the shaping of our development, proving, yet once again, that the party's leading role is not a "paper stipulation" but a realized objective need, a process of scientific, Marxist-Leninist April leadership of the working class and the working people toward socialism and communism.

Economics--the foundation of our country's life--is the focal point of attention of the party and its activities. V. I. Lenin consistently taught that economic management is a vital, an inseparable part of the role and place of the communist party in the life of the people. He drew attention to the direct tasks which confront the party's leadership of the economy. At the present stage the party's attention to problems of the economy is particularly increased. On the one hand, this involves the need to broaden and improve the guiding system in resolving the main problems of the development of the base of the socialist society directly through the forces and means of organized political influence and the political approach and the formulation of "internal" party-organizational approaches to this effect. On the other hand, it is the leading influence exerted on improving the overall political system of our society with a view to increasing its feedback influence on the socioeconomic base so that it may suitably develop in the implementation of the basic socioeconomic law of socialism through intensification and the fuller utilization of the peak achievements of scientific and technical progress and achieving an upsurge in quality in all activities and along the entire socioeconomic front--in everything and everywhere--that is why the

tasks set by the party at the 12th Congress and after it "should help," as Comrade Zhivkov said, "and to guarantee the changes which are currently making in the economic base of society: the introduction of the new economic approach and mechanism; the full utilization of commodity-monetary relations in the interest of socialist development; the establishment of proper and regulated relations between the rights and obligations of the state as the owner and the labor collectives as managers of socialist property."⁹ This influence of party policy on the political and social system of the society is manifested through the rich set of ways, means and methods as a political approach.

The implementation of the socioeconomic objectives of the socialist society, under the party's leadership, is manifested in practical terms in the comprehensive and reciprocal utilization of the political approach in economics, regardless of the object of influence in a specific circumstance or specific reason. Furthermore, it is independent of the subject in each specific case. This scope of party-political approach in the sociopolitical and socioeconomic development of the country guarantees the comprehensive solution of the vital basic and irrevocable objectives of the entire society. It is in this sense that we can realize the meaning of Todor Zhivkov's statement that "the primary party organization must be not only the representative of the party in the labor collective but the representative of the labor collective in the party."¹⁰ This approach means the elimination of administrative-bureaucratic management methods and a consistency between the activities of the economic and party leader with the objective economic reality and the mandatory observance of the rights and interests of the labor collectives. That is why it is close and irreplaceable in reaching social objectives. It guarantees the proper application of the economic mechanism and contributes to involving the working people in the practical solution of production and social development problems. It includes the stipulation of taking the party's leading role close to managing by the entire nation so that it may be experienced realistically by every individual working person or labor unit.

The implementation of the party's leading role through the application of its political approach is manifested in the requirement of the steady enhancement of the abilities of the primary party organizations as the leading political nucleus of the labor collective and as the prototype of its future condition in which the internal life of the PPO [Primary Party Organization] may become the model of socialist social relations and a prerequisite for the legitimate advancement of the process of development of the party from the vanguard of the working people to the vanguard of the whole people. This process directly affects the development of the political system of society as well. Without losing its class nature, it manifests better the humane nature of the power of the working class. We see in its advancement the growth of the state into a state of the whole people. "The development of our state and its management must increasingly become the true concern of the people--a concern of the broadest possible people's masses, of the entire toiling people."¹¹ The source of strength of our political system lies precisely in the fact that its objectives increasingly reflect the needs of the working person, that they enable the socialist working people to display increasingly their energy in the development of the economy, science and culture and to participate in the solution of their problems.

The policy of the BCP is a manifestation of the vital interests of the working class and the working people. This enhances it to the position of the political leader of the masses and puts it in the leadership of the political system engaged in the social management of the country as the only organization which is able--on the basis of scientific, contemporary Marxist-Leninist positions--to develop and implement the political line in all fields of life, to take into consideration and skillfully to combine the interests and characteristics of the various class and social groups and collectives and to lead them steadily toward the implementation of the human ideal--the future classless society of fraternity, equality and prosperity.

2. The Socialist State Is the Main Tool in Building a Developed Socialist Society

With its appearance and by virtue of its nature and objective, the socialist state fully performs the role of the main tool in the hands of the working class and all working people in organizing, developing and ensuring the full victory in achieving mature socialist social relations and their transformation into communist relations and, in the final account, the elimination of any class domination and the defense of their revolutionary gains. It is with this that the socialist state realizes its profound nature from organ of exploitation and class domination in the past to its aspired-to role of organ of the socioeconomic and spiritual development of the working people today. The words of Friedrich Engels, to the effect that the freedom of the proletariat is achieved through the liberation of all the oppressed, have come true. Today, under the conditions of building a developed socialist society, the state is developing from a dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of the whole people. Its class nature is manifested in its national nature. Its creative and constructive role and creative-constructive potential are increasing steadily.

In the course of its activities the BCP has always assigned an important role to the further advancement and development of the socialist state and its interaction with the other structural units within the political system of the society. At its 5th Congress (1948) the Marxist-Leninist tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat was formulated and further developed in the form of a people's democracy, under Georgi Dimitrov's guidance.

The historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum gave a powerful impetus to the improvement and democratization of the political system and the management of society in our country. It laid the beginning of a sequence of significant developments and created efficient practical forms and approaches in the development of the political system and the advancement of the state system at the stage of building a developed socialist society. "Our state," Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized, "as a state of the dictatorship of the working class is also a profoundly democratic state of the people.... That is because it expresses and defends the basic interests of the working class and the entire toiling people and because its main purpose is to free the working people from exploitation and political rightlessness and to carry out radical political, economic and social changes for the good of the people and for the upsurge of the entire society."¹²

The 12th Party Congress developed and enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role, nature and place of the socialist state at the present stage. It also defined the tasks aimed at strengthening its role in building a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism and the management of the socialist economy; the steady enhancement of the living standards of the people, the further development of spiritual life, the communist upbringing of the working people, the advancement of the activities of the state apparatus and the strengthening of the control exercised by the socialist working people on the activities of social management organs, etc.¹³ It is on this basis that the sociopolitical functions of the socialist state as the organ of the power of the working class, allied with all working people's detachments, are enriched, assume a new content and broaden. Increasingly the socialist state is turning into a regulator and coordinator of the social processes of the more energetic participation of labor collectives and working people in social production management and the organization of labor and distribution.

The use of the political approach is increasingly becoming a characteristic feature of the statesmanlike approach resolving the problems of building socialism. The development of the state as a state of the whole people enhances and enriches its political role in all social areas, economics above all. The socialist state has not only the "power" at its disposal, with the necessary qualities and types of facilities based on the political power of the people in the realization of all such qualities and in resolving their problems, based on the political power of the people, but also a powerful material force--the state socialist ownership which is the common property of the people and the basic form of socialist ownership, standing on the threshold of ownership by the whole people.

The development of the socialist state as a state of the whole people in our country is related to a specific Bulgarian achievement--the sociostate and state-social principle in the management and development of a number of social areas and processes. This is a "political discovery"¹⁴ of great importance in the development of the political system and, through it, the entire society. It is this path which opens an increasingly broad front and increases and improves the forms of participation of the working people in social management. The socialist state is increasingly asserting its political role of serving the people by increasing their possibility of displaying the broadest possible initiative and participation, by reporting to the people through its bodies, units and cadres on the various administrative and control levels on the way in which it is implementing its assignments.

In addition to the growth and improvement of the effect of sociostate and state-social forms, which have taken place in recent years in the areas of culture, public education, territorial self-management, agriculture, etc., this form is continuing to intensify in the economic, trade and other socioeconomic activities. It is a question of the associative principle of organizing voluntary associations as a form of contracting and exercising a unified policy on the part of the involved parties and of distribution based on the effectiveness of such participation.

The development and growth of the significance of this principle is related to the advancement of social relations in our country and the improvement of the political system based on its democratization and increased utilization of the social voluntary ways and means of activity, which are of greater socioeconomic efficiency and lead to higher political results. As a consequence of this fact, some of the functions of the state are being gradually taken over by the public organizations. The main feature here is that of voluntary activity rather than the administrative-managerial principle. The extension of this process is reflected on the activities of the respective bodies and organizations. The broadening of economic-organizational and social functions under the conditions of the exercise of territorial power and public self-management is becoming increasingly effective in the work of the people's councils. This broadens their possibilities of managing the conurbation systems through broader, more extensive and more popular socio-state forms and, through their development, enables the party to create conditions for providing new opportunities for the people themselves to resolve their problems in harmony with the interests of society.

The organization of mayoralities and sociostate councils in residential areas has made richer the content of the activities of obshtinas and rayon people's councils and contributed to the improvement of local state management, bringing it closer to the needs, wishes and ideas of the people's regime. This approach encompasses the principles of popular rule in satisfying individual needs and interests on the basis of social possibilities and funds and the social needs through the conscious, voluntary and personal participation in such undertakings. It is entering our socioeconomic practice by steadily broadening the front of its application. It links the interests of the individual sectors, organs and institutes and social residential requirements. The socio-organizational structures and units which were created combined the social with the personal and collective interests of their participants. This path of development and advancement is being decisively enriched on the basis of the principle of relations between the "owner" and "manager" of socialist property. It is on this basis that the functions and development of the labor collective come closer to their position of basic "structural unit" as our production relations improve.

The assessment is unanimous that problems of improving labor and socioeconomic relations go through the lens of the labor collective and the problems of its fullest possible participation in decision-making on important problems such as the counterplan, the organization of the labor process, the quality of output, income distribution, social development and the socio-political activeness of its members. The resolutions of the 1982 BCP Central Committee Plenum gave a "green light" to the party concept of a new labor code. Formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, it met with the approval of the entire toiling people in the course of its nationwide discussion.

Regardless of the fact that the social organizations which, together with the socialist state, are the subject of the political system and play a relatively autonomous role and are not state organizations, they play an exceptionally important role in the development and advancement of the political system of mature socialism: the Bulgarian Trade Unions, with the rights and responsibilities for the social insurance of the working people and the upbringing of

the working class; the Komsomol--with the responsibility for the comprehensive training and realization of the young generation; and the Fatherland Front, as the most active lever of the moral and political unity of the Bulgarian people. The party considers them not as ordinary "transmission belts" but as an organic part of the socialist political system.

The BZNS plays a particularly important role in our political system. It has adopted the party's general line of building socialism in Bulgaria and is an active factor in its implementation.

The process of development and advancement of the functions of the socialist state under contemporary conditions unquestionably confirms the Marxist-Leninist stipulation that the working class is the only sociopolitical force and class whose objective is not to perpetuate its power. This is exemplified by the Soviet state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has become a state of the whole people and that organ representing the interests and role of the entire people.¹⁵ Naturally, this is a continuing process in which the Soviet state is becoming a socialist state of the whole people. The same path is being followed by the Bulgarian state. That is why, in its more initial stage, its development trends include new aspects of the state of the whole people as the direct heir of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "By retaining its basic features and functions of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat," the BCP program stipulates, "it is increasingly becoming the political organization of the entire people."¹⁶ The socialist state of the whole people marks a new and higher stage in its constructive activities, management mechanism, forms and methods of development of socialist democracy and its expansion and intensification and the comprehensive development of its principles. It is following this path by implementing the party's program, supplemented and improved with the resolutions and stipulations of the 11th and 12th BCP Congresses and the comprehensive activities of the Bulgarian state and working people, aimed at achieving better working and resting conditions, improving the opportunities of the socialist working people in the manifestation of their forces in the development of the economy, science and culture; and improvements in the system of ways and means of the fuller and more complete solution of the vital programs of the people. On this basis the question of the place, development and role of the socialist state in the political system and its progress toward becoming a state of the whole people are characterized by two inseparably interlinked qualitative features: on the one hand, as the main tool of the political power of the people, in terms of its social purpose and historical mission the state performs the role of a decisive, organizing and constructive force of society and as the main tool in building a developed socialist society and its conversion to communism; on the other, it prepares conditions for its future withering away and for the reorganization of the entire political system of mature socialism into social communist self-management. In terms of its profound content this dialectical link brings these features of the socialist state closer to their democratization in the activities and historical role of this power institution.

3. The Development and Advancement of Socialist Democracy Is the Main Content and Gain of the Socialist Political System

The nature of the socialist political system as the recipient and different from all other sociohistorical systems finds its practical and theoretical manifestation in the development of socialist democracy. True democracy is inherent in socialism--"On the one hand, consistent democracy turns into socialism and, on the other, needs socialism."¹⁷

As V. I. Lenin pointed out in his work "The State and Revolution," democracy is a form of state power. It is precisely for this reason that it is a characteristic synthesis of the entire political life of society and has its own aspects and manifestations in all other social areas--legal, moral-ethical, economic, etc.

It is as such that it is defined as the sum total of the activities of democratic socialist institutions which are steadily developing their popular and democratic functions and forms, institutions which enable us truly to represent and respect the will of the broad popular masses.

Each one of these institutions has its specific part in the democratic content of the socialist political system. The role of the communist party as the inevitably necessary prerequisite for the development of socialist democracy is determining and irreplaceable by virtue of its prime role in the political system of society. It implements this function through the state, the mass organizations and the active participation of the people in the exercise of democracy.

That is why the leading role of the BCP finds its prime and necessary realization in enhancing socialist democracy in our life. This basic objective is broken down into the advancement and improvement of the activities and management by organs, units and institutions responsible for the development of its elements and its fullest possible application in life and in the daily practices of real socialism. In this aspect it becomes the radical factor in the theoretical-methodological, political, ideological and organizing leading role and function of the party and the socialist state.

The period which followed the historical April BCP Central Committee Plenum was crucial and fruitful in terms of the experience of the party and its further struggle for the triumph of socialist democracy. Headed by the BCP Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the architect of the April line, it found its further realization in the advancement of social relations, in upgrading the creative activeness of the people, in the administration of the country and in strengthening the ties between the party and millions of working people and the deployment of their energy and creativity for the good of our people. This was a period and a line of strengthening the socialist and ideological unity of the people around the line and policies of the BCP and the implementation of the historical objectives and interests of the entire people. This meant systematic efforts and struggle against obsolete concepts, distortions and deformations and for the institution of a new socialist morality and legality and for giving full scope

to the creative manifestations of the working people and for the practical exercise of democracy.

The 12th BCP Congress and the January 1984 Central Committee Plenum introduced new features and earmarked new directions in the advancement of socialist democracy in the stage of building mature socialism, in the conditions of the eliminated exploitation of man by man and the possibility of advancing preparations for its becoming a socialist democracy of the whole people. In practical terms this meant the further creation of conditions for and practical implementation of a real policy and a way of expanding the participation of the broad popular masses in the management of social activities and their transformation into a subject of social management. This path is manifested in the strengthened ties between the party and the people and affects the entire social system. It deals with direct and representative democracy and the participation of the people through increasingly broad and more meaningful forms in the administration of the state, production and spiritual culture, the expanded rights of public organizations and the increased role of party and state control over all the areas of the country's social, economic and spiritual life. This role makes socialist democracy the main factor in building a mature socialist society, for it is only under these circumstances that the essence of proletarian democracy can be most fully manifested as true rule by the people. As a sociopolitical phenomenon the people develop and become increasingly hegemonistic and the system assumes an increasingly clear national nature. The interests of the working class blend with those of the entire people without the state of the whole people having exhausted its power. It is precisely on this basis that the main motive force of our development--the sociolabor initiative and activeness of labor collectives and individual working people--is stimulated.

The legal aspect in the improvement of legislation and application of the law through the democratization of legal norms and the assertion of legality is broadened and refined. The moral aspect of democratization is steadily refining and assuming a motivating role in the activities of the people. Morality and democracy become indivisibly linked. "What is democratic is moral and what is moral is democratic."

Democracy is not only the result but a form of manifestation of the political system of society in which the development of social consciousness is reflected steadily. Social consciousness, as we know, is manifested through public opinion which is of a political nature and of political importance on any matter to one extent or another. It is always a manifestation of political consciousness and reflects on the other components of the system. It is precisely this that makes necessary the specialized organs of state and party institutions and offers the possibility of channeling, interpreting and analyzing the wishes, views and recommendations of the citizens. Thus, for example, in recent years the letters of citizens to social management organs and editors of the central mass information media have exceeded 500,000 units per year. Nearly 50 percent of them are addressed to okrug and obshtina people's councils; 22 percent are addressed to ministries and other central departments and their branches. About 12 percent are addressed to the central, okrug and obshtina BCP committees.

The active and constructive attitude of the citizens regarding problems affecting them is intensifying with every passing year. Every year the number of suggestions submitted by the working people to central organs and departments is increasing by an average of 70 to 80 percent. This confirms yet once again the increased social activeness of the working people and their aspiration to contribute to decision-making and to improving management efficiency.

Equally high is the feedback from the management organs to the citizens. In recent years and after the 12th BCP Congress plenums, conferences and sessions were held in most okrug, obshtina and rayon party committees on the work with suggestions and critical remarks of the working people and the study and utilization of public opinion. The activities of the organs and units in charge of such work have improved significantly. Between 1978 and 1981 alone the joint reception system of the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the Committee for State and People's Control conducted 42 comprehensive topic investigations in okrug and obshtina people's councils and 25 investigations of ministries, departments and economic organizations. The Law on Citizens' Suggestions, Reports, Complaints and Petitions was passed in 1980.

The development and advancement of direct and representative democracy is an essential feature of the political system. Both aspects of this mechanism of democracy are becoming increasingly efficient. V. I. Lenin considered the combination of direct and representative forms of exercise of power by the working people one of the decisive advantages of the soviet organization. He emphasized that "it enables us to combine the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of direct democracy."¹⁸

The elective nature of the representative organs of the state system in Bulgaria is a clear manifestation of the steadily broadening socialist democracy and a prerequisite for the extensive participation of the people in the administration of the country. The development of socialist democracy received a new expression in the "mayoralty institution" and, particularly, the election of mayors directly by the voters. We elect 400 people's representatives, 4,232 okrug people's counselors (including those of the Sofia People's Council), 28,159 obshtina people's counselors, 2,339 rayon people's counselors, 3,948 mayors and 19,301 people's counselors in the municipalities. The trend of this system of people elected by the people and its purpose and objectives toward its renovation and improvement has sunk deep roots in cadre stipulations and the party line. In the latest 1983 elections 44.4 percent of the people's electors were replaced. Of these 31.9 percent are members of the working class, 37 percent are women and 21.8 percent are people under 30.

Such public management organs extensively represent all strata and friendly classes in our country. Thus, for example, 54.9 percent of the elected are BCP members, 14.6 percent are members of the BZNS and 30.5 percent are non-party members.

The opportunity granted by the electoral law for each electoral district to indicate and discuss at preelection meetings an unlimited number of candidacies was used more extensively in the latest electoral campaign. The most

suitable candidates were nominated and registered at the completion of the discussions held in the electoral district.

The inevitable conclusion now is that socialist democracy is the main result of the gains of the socialist political system. That is why the advancement of the political system under the conditions of building a developed socialist society is related to improving a number of principles, approaches and tasks in this direction.

Democratic centralism is the basic principle in the development and functioning of the political system. This universal principle in the structure of the overall socialist system is the base of the entire socioeconomic and ideological-political structure of the socialist society. It enables an increasing number of toiling strata to participate in the development and improvement of the political system management of production and society. That is why it is particularly important for the political system to guarantee the exercise and improvement of this principle.

The labor nature of the democratization of developed socialist society is its general feature. It allows socialist democracy to be related to its labor character and to the economic democracy of the working people and the need for their participation in the management of economic processes.

The application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the payment of wages based on end results, organizing all activities on the basis of self-support and all of this encompassed within the "open borders" of the counterplan create new and more favorable conditions for the development and improvement of production relations. This is directly related to the development of the political system and the socioeconomic foundations of socialist democracy. In turn, socialist democracy is inseparably related to enhancing the role, range of competence and responsibilities of the collective management organs on all levels.

That is why the specific task of our sociopolitical and socioeconomic development is to improve the management of public production, which is directly related to the development of our political system. A substantiated answer to this major problem is contained in the resolutions of the January 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum and the stipulations presented in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report note on improving the economic mechanism in management. We have practically undertaken the implementation of purposeful measures, steps and actions which, through the democratization of the overall sociopolitical, state and economic system, will balance the possibilities of the established material and technical base and the objective existence of socioeconomic relations with results obtained through the "subjective factor"--the cadres--under the conditions of building developed socialism. Hence the task of providing a new solution to the problems of the development and dynamics of cadres. The ways and means of their growth on their jobs, the creation of a "capital" of modern specialists, managers and highly skilled performing cadres, who may be used wherever the tasks of the national income are directly related and offering opportunities to cadres with a new "revolutionary" way of thinking must be made consistent with this requirement. In this process

the role and place of the collective must be decisive--of its ability and responsibility as "manager," which can create a climate of consistency of labor participation and to take over and be concerned with the development of cadres, to trust them and be concerned with them. This will eliminate the assumption of responsibilities and functions by others. The plan will be truly competently discussed and submitted from below. No tricks will be applied and everyone will be aware of and resolve his own fate through the possibilities of the collective, the enterprise and the socialist state.

It is precisely from this viewpoint that we must formulate the objectives and tasks facing the collectives, from the individual to the production, economic and managerial levels. This is now the major task of the party, trade union and Komsomol organs and organizations: they must firmly support, encourage and protect cadres and entire collectives which are ready to assume a creative risk and responsibility and to be first in mastering new approaches, to think daringly and innovatively. Such requirements must be included in the training of reserve cadres, of those who will follow us. This is the base on which we shall be able to resolve more efficiently the problems stemming from the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference and the new approaches formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress.

In managing the political system the BCP has always proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role of the individual and the people's masses in history. The building of a developed socialist society is a matter of the toiling masses, in which the working class plays a leading role. The working class plays the hegemonistic role in our social development. It is in the name of its historical objectives that the entire political system of the socialist society is developed and operates. The spiritual and material growth of the working class is the most accurate indicator of the growth and blossoming of the entire society. It is the main motivating force in building a developed socialist society. It is the power on which is built and through which the political system of socialism operates. It is on behalf of this class and its allies that the political system is created and improved. As long as the social homogeneity of the socialist society is being developed, the working class will implement the principle "everything for man and everything for the good of man" through its hegemonistic role and its political system.

All of this is a manifestation of the political socialist system, which is the most essential aspect of real socialism and the materialization of the ideas of scientific communism.

The political system of our socialist society is a historical gain of the party's April line. The entire period which followed the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution convincingly proved the stability and viability of the established political system and the ability of the BCP creatively to develop and use it as a powerful factor in accelerating the building of socialism. The further advancement of the political system in building a developed socialist society, in accordance with the trends formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, will not only respond to the objectively established needs but will create prerequisites and conditions for the increasing identification of the possibilities and advantages of the socialist

social system in the tireless ascent of the Bulgarian People's Republic, our socialist fatherland, toward communism, its cherished goal.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov [see note 4, article 3], p 180.
2. Ibid., p 178.
3. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 36, p 16.
4. Ibid., Vol 23, p 230.
5. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na PKP Pred Dvanadesetiya Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata" [BCP Central Committee Accountability Report to the 12th Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks], Sofia, 1981, pp 80, 82, 84, 86, etc.
6. T. Zhivkov, [see note 1, p 215].
7. T. Zhivkov, "Aprilska Liniya na PKP--Marksizum-Leninizum v Deystvie" [The April Line of the BCP--Marxism-Leninism in Action], p 60.
8. T. Zhivkov, "Razvitie i Usuvurshenstvuvane na Politicheskata Sistema na Sotsialisticheskoto Obshtestvo--Istoricheskoto Zavoevanie na Aprilskata Liniya na Partiyata" [Development and Advancement of the Political System of Socialist Society--A Historical Gain of the Party's April Line], Sofia, 1983, p 13.
9. T. Zhivkov, [see footnote 1, p 186].
10. Ibid., p 22.
11. Ibid., p 203.
12. T. Zhivkov, "Za po-Natatushno Razgrushtane na Sotsialisticheskata Demokratiya" [On the Further Development of Socialist Democracy]. Sofia, 1968, pp 14-15.
13. T. Zhivkov, [see note 5], Sofia, 1980, pp 89-90.
14. T. Zhivkov, [see note 6, p 197].
15. "Programa na KPSS" [CPSU Program], 1976, p 104.
16. "Programa na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya" [Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party], p 94.
17. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 33, p 76.
18. Ibid., Vol 26, p 87.

Patriotic Education Through BCP

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 67-80

[Article by Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs]

[Text] The building of a socialist society and the all-round satisfaction of the basic material and spiritual needs and interests of the working people and the creation of the necessary conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual and the achievement of communism are the historical meaning of the 9 September Socialist Revolution, whose great 40th anniversary we are celebrating this year. The role and significance of the spiritual values, revolutionary traditions and historically asserted norms and principles of social life are manifested with particular emphasis in this complex and legitimate process.

Social virtues and revolutionary traditions are of tremendous political, ideological and educational importance in the theory and practice of real socialism. The BCP pays lasting attention to the political, moral, aesthetic and sociopsychological values, virtues and traditions developed in the course of the historical development of the people and the party and their further socialist enrichment and development. As they have in the past, today they continue to influence the social nature and role of all social forces. The significance is particularly strong in the class struggle and the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people and the qualitative and effective development of the mature socialist society. They play an important role among the motive forces of socialist prosperity. It is through them that historical experience lives today and influences the future.

The current social interest shown in the revolutionary past and the historical experience of the party and the people is also determined by the characteristics of the international ideological and political situation. The communist and worker movements are engaged in a lively discussion on the dialectics of the general and the individual, the special and the particular and the universal and the specific features in the class struggle and in the building of socialism. Infinitely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the BCP is creatively applying its universally mandatory principles to the specific conditions of the country. The harmonious combination of national specifics with international general features and patriotism with internationalism in the strategy and tactics of the party and in the overall activities of society and the state are the foundations of the all-round progress of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The historical experience acquired by generations of fighters for national freedom and social justice and the revolutionary creativity of the party and the people provide a steady source for the shaping and assertion of the militant virtues and traditions of the contemporary Bulgarian people. These traditions and virtues are the living bridge linking the national revolutionary movement during the Renaissance, the struggle against fascism and

capitalism and the contemporary building of socialism. They are an irreplaceable weapon encountering the efforts of contemporary imperialism to deny the patriotic and international nature of mature socialism and the communist and worker movements and to undermine the unity and continuity among the generations who fought fascist slavery and imperialist dependence, who poured the foundations of socialism and are building a mature socialist society.

As an element of our social and cultural heritage, the revolutionary traditions and virtues of the BCP and the people do more than merely assert our continuity with the past. By accumulating the positive social experience of the material and spiritual activities of the people and transmitting it from one generation to another, they contribute to the radical reorganization of social life. This precisely is the social meaning of the knowledge of history and the justified interest in the lessons of history. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, we are opening the "unforgettable pages of history in order to penetrate more profoundly within our national fate and see more clearly the future, to elevate our hearts and to arm our minds with the aspirations, virtues and traditions which gave strength to our predecessors, which are being given to us and will be given to our children and grandchildren in their progress."¹ This is also the spirit of V. I. Lenin's behest, who wrote that "we care for the attentive attitude toward revolutionary traditions,"² for they are "a beacon in the education of the new generations of fighters."³

Naturally, we master, preserve and enrich the revolutionary features and traditions inherited from the past not mechanically but creatively. This has been particularly clearly shown by the April generation which inherited and qualitatively enriched Dimitrov's general line of the BCP and is resolving, on a new creative basis, the complex problems of building a mature socialist society.

The roots of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive traditions and virtues of the Bulgarian people lie deep within their history. At the very dawn of Bulgarian statehood a main feature and political virtue of our people became apparent: the sharp feeling of social justice, intolerance of social, political and spiritual oppression and all manifestations of tyranny and rightlessness, and an unquenchable striving toward democracy, equality and freedom.

The movement of the Bogomils, which was born in Bulgaria and which went beyond its borders, was a manifestation of humaneness and sharp social opposition to the ruling medieval dogmatism and for the emancipation of the human mind. The passionate defense of the humiliated and insulted person, the idea of the freedom of the individual and the spiritual worth and moral values of an ordinary people lacking caste prejudices plunged feudal Europe into turmoil.

A profound feeling of social justice and progress started and fanned the flames of one of the earliest and largest antifeudal movements in medieval Europe--the rural uprising led by the people's leader Ivaylo, an offspring of the working people. This was a daring attempt on the part of the medieval Bulgarian peasants radically to change the social order of the period.

The events of the age-old battle fought by the enslaved Bulgarian people against the Ottoman oppressors are innumerable. The upsurge of national self-awareness gave birth to the giants of our national democratic revolution--Rakovski, Levski, Botev, G. Delchev, and D. Gruev--whose names are deservedly in the same ranks as the most noted fighters for people's freedom and social progress in the world. The Bulgarian revolutionaries dedicated their lives to the struggle for true democracy and for a pure and sacred republic. They linked their hopes to the commune of the future. Those were lofty national and social ideals which inspired the rebels of April 1876 to challenge the Ottoman Empire with guns made of hollowed stems of cherry trees and flintlocks and loudly to proclaim their inflexible desire for full national and social liberation. Less than 30 years later their example was followed by the heroes of the Ilinden-Preobrazhensko uprising, who sacrificed themselves for the freedom and national political unity and fraternal alliance among all enslaved peoples and for social justice.

In its age-old history, filled with harsh and fierce trials, the Bulgarian people were able to develop their stable democratic cultural tradition. It was in our lands that the old Bulgarian civilization--the third oldest on the European continent, after the Roman Catholic and Byzantine-Orthodox--was born and developed. Medieval Bulgaria became the center of the work of Cyril and Methodius. It gave the Slavs an alphabet and literacy--a powerful weapon in their struggle against the assimilation efforts of the Roman Catholic and Byzantine clergy. The people's genius preserved through the centuries its cultural traditions. It created perfect works of art in which we can see pre-Renaissance inspirations. The Okhrid, Preslav and Turnovo cultural centers developed as remarkable spiritual centers for their time.

Friendship and solidarity with other peoples, respect and consideration for their freedom and political and social values are other durable virtues of our people running throughout their entire thousand-year-old history. Their distant origins are in the fact that the achievements of the ancient Thracians and the Slavic Ethnos from the Eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula blended with the pre-Bulgarians who came from the Russian steppes within the Bulgarian state and Bulgarian nationality.

During the Renaissance--the time of the highest national upsurge and struggle for national assertion and state independence--the program of the Bulgarian national revolution was alien to feelings of nationalistic exclusivity and narrow-mindedness. It called for fraternal understanding and sincere equality and cooperation with neighboring nations. Vasil Levski expressed in simple and extremely clear terms this characteristic feature of our national liberation revolution. He wrote that "we too are people; we too want to live like people: we want to be entirely free in our land wherever Bulgarians may live--in Bulgaria, Thrace (and) Macedonia." He immediately added that "whatever nationalities may live in this paradise of ours (they) will be equal to the Bulgarians in everything. We shall have a single flag on which the words "a sacred and pure republic"⁴ will be inscribed.... "Today's century is the century of freedom and equality of all nationalities."⁵ This view led many Bulgarian revolutionaries into the ranks of the fighters for national freedom of Serbia, Greece and Italy.

The Bulgarian revolutionary worker movement, which developed at the end of the 19th century, became the legitimate heir and perpetuator of the national and revolutionary traditions of our people. This was entirely natural, for spiritual poverty, the pragmatic spirit and consumerism and the pursuit of material success regardless of morality, which were so typical of the striving Bulgarian bourgeoisie, pushed into the background the bright ideals of the Renaissance. The revolutionary worker movement, which appeared in the name of the loftiest social ideal--a communist classless society--took as its own the unrealized behests of the national revolutionaries of the age of the preliberation struggles and raised them as a banner and inspiring example for the revolutionary Marxist Party headed by Dimitur Blagoev. The pioneers of socialism not only inherited and defended the best traditions of the past. They created new traditions. They enriched the people's treasury of virtues. They created a new system of values which enriched and developed the spiritual world of the individual and society.

Infinite loyalty and dedication to the working class and the toiling people are among the most essential political virtues of the Bulgarian communists and a durable tradition in the history of the organized labor movement in Bulgaria. It legitimately triggers class intolerance and total rejection of bourgeois rule, morality and way of life and bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. It is the prime source of total dedication, firmness and courage in the fierce class struggle, of inhuman endurance in fascist police jails and prisons, of unparalleled heroism displayed in the people's uprisings against monarchy, fascism and bourgeois rule.

One of the party's historical accomplishments is that it raised thousands of revolutionaries with a high-class consciousness and a spirit of class hatred of the bourgeoisie and its society.

Dimitur Blagoev wrote: "The irreconcilable class struggle of the proletariat alone can lead to lasting gains and to brilliant and valorous victories, the liberation of the working class from hired slavery and the liberation of human society from all types of slavery."⁶ The party of the Bulgarian communists struggled unyieldingly and tirelessly against capitulationism, adaptation and unjustified retreats which, in the final account, led to a conciliation with exploiters and oppressors.

The loyalty and dedication of the Bulgarian proletariat were inseparable from its loyalty to the cause of the international working class. From its very foundation the party has considered itself "part of the global social democracy."⁷ The Bulgarian Marxists responded through specific and active actions to all significant manifestations of the labor and progressive movements in other countries. They expressed their moral and material support of their brothers in class and ideas. It was no accident that V. I. Lenin considered the left-wing socialists as being "internationalists in fact."

Engels' thought that "...in the movement of the working class the true national ideas...are also true international ideas"⁸ has been a guiding principle of the Bulgarian Marxists.

Our party welcomed enthusiastically the Great October Socialist Revolution and unreservedly took up its defense. The age-old love of the Bulgarians for the great Russian people and gratitude for the brothers-liberators gained a new proletarian-socialist content. Unhesitatingly and alone the BCP became a cofounder of the Communist International and until its very end (1943) remained one of its most active sections. Many Bulgarian communists fought in the civil war in Russia, China and Spain, in the ranks of the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War and in the antifascist resistance in Greece, Yugoslavia, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and other European countries.

Throughout its development and activities the BCP has always been inspired by most zealous patriotism. As early as 1901 Georgi Kirkov emphasized that the party "loves its fatherland" profoundly, for which reason its struggle will be "brighter" than all struggles and its victory "more brilliant."⁹ The patriotism of the BCP stems from its loyalty to the working class and the toiling masses. The historical mission of the proletariat and its party--the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the building of a socialist social system--are consistent with the basic interests of the entire toiling people. That is why it was natural and legitimate that in the course of the decades of struggle in defense of the immediate and future interests of the working class and toiling masses, the BCP would develop as a people's patriotic force.

Proceeding from the entire historical development of the worker and communist movements, Georgi Dimitrov drew the historical lesson which became a tradition for the Bulgarian communists: "No true people's patriotism can exist without international solidarity the way no true international solidarity can exist without true people's patriotism."¹⁰ Georgi Dimitrov himself was an example and model of organic combination of internationalism with patriotism. At the Liepzig trial he was a daring fighter for the Communist International and the international communist movement and a fiery Bulgarian patriot, a heated defender of the honor of the Bulgarian labor movement and the national dignity of the Bulgarian people.

Infinite loyalty and dedication to scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism and its profound scientific and steadily developing thinking is a high political virtue of the BCP.

In its nearly century-old history, the party has always vigilantly watched over the purity of the great teaching of the revolution. It struggled against all kinds of right-wing and "left-wing" deviations from Marxism, against international opportunism and the supporters of ideological capitulation to the bourgeoisie. It fought against dogmatism and sectarianism. At the same time, the BCP has rich traditions in the further creative development and enrichment of revolutionary theory. With a specific study of socioeconomic reality in Bulgaria at that time, Dimitur Blagoev proved that despite the underdeveloped nature of social relations "socialism has grounds in our country." The concepts expressed by Georgi Dimitrov in 1923 on fascism and the united labor front and his works on the people's antifascist front during the

1930s and for a people's democracy after World War II were a great accomplishment of our party and a significant contribution to the theory and practice of the international communist movement.

The contribution of the BCP and, personally, of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the theoretical elaboration of contemporary political, economic, social, ideological and cultural problems and tasks, which legitimately arise with building a mature socialist society, has been universally acknowledged. Our party has established itself as a party with clear, accurate and stable theoretical and political positions, which defends profoundly and on a principled basis and which develops Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively guided by its nature and daringly seeking new ideas and approach in building mature socialism. The great international recognition and respect which it enjoys are also due to its principle-minded and inflexible struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory and the steady development of theory consistent with the objective laws and specific tasks of social development. The strategic Marxist-Leninist April line of the BCP is essentially the extension and development of the tradition bequeathed by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov for ideological purity and the creative enrichment of revolutionary theory.

The wisdom, strength and character of the toiling people and their age-old irreconcilable struggle for freedom, independence and progressive development are crystallized in the political, moral and other social values and virtues of the party. They have been profoundly experienced, earned, enriched and developed mainly in historically crucial times, where the political and social destinies of the people and the homeland were at stake.

The antifascist resistance, headed by the BCP, tempered the old and developed new values and traditions. The communists became the representatives of the highest people's virtues and supreme national interests.

The historical victory of the 9 September people's uprising, with the decisive help of the great Soviet Union, laid the beginning of a new historical epoch--the epoch of socialism. The virtues of the party and the people developed even more fully and effectively their activities. They enriched our spiritual life and opened the way to new material and spiritual accomplishments by the homeland.

The April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum provided a powerful impetus in the assertion of the vital revolutionary virtues of the BCP and the people and the new social meaning they acquired and their organic embodiment within the changing life of the working people. By fully restoring the Leninist principles of leadership and norms of party life, the plenum laid the beginning of the "Leninist general line of the BCP during the period of completing the transition from capitalism to socialism under the conditions of victorious socialism and in the struggle for building a developed socialist society and gradually converting to building communism in the Bulgarian people's republic."¹¹

The merit of Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the elaboration, assertion and implementation of the April party line and its steady enrichment and development,

based on the objective course of history and the laws governing the building of a developed socialist society, is historically and universally acknowledged.

The new April approach to the past provided an accurate and scientific assessment of the real contribution of all generations to social and cultural progress. It asserted the values of the historical past and made them a living example of tremendous importance in the sociopolitical experience of the contemporary Bulgarian people. Reverence of the progressive historical past is organically intertwined with respect for foreign experience and example and for the global communist and worker movements and, above all, the experience and achievements of the Soviet state and Lenin's party.

The BCP, the Bulgarian communists do not turn to their past for its own sake or even less so uncritically. From it, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "we take not the ashes but the ambers, that which serves best today's socialist and tomorrow's communist future of Bulgaria.... The systematic Leninist approach to the national cultural-historical legacy is an objective, a scientifically substantiated class assessment of historical realities in an age-old social development and an intolerance of nihilism or a defense of individual historical phenomena. It is an irreconcilable attitude toward any attempt at misrepresenting our national history and the openness of our culture to anything valuable in the spiritual treasury of mankind. Such are the principles which we have always held steadfastly."¹²

The April line broadened and intensified the traditional loyalty to the working class and the entire toiling people left to us by the prime founders of our party. The basic, the supreme objective of the party and the socialist system is concern for the person, the worker, the farmer, the workers and creators in science and culture, the young people and the children. This concern is embodied in the party's social policy, in the December program of upgrading the living standards of the people and the long-term program for quality improvements. It is contained in the systematic party efforts aimed at the comprehensive advancement of political, economic, social and ideological relations, the social management system, the further development of socialist democracy and the comprehensive development of the socialist working person.

The Blagoev-Dimitrov loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its creative development consistent with Bulgarian conditions was fully expanded after the April Plenum. The party systematically protects the purity and basic principles of our doctrine. It is waging an irreconcilable struggle against right-wing revisionist and sectarian-dogmatic distortions. Never before has Marxist-Leninist thought developed so extensively and so fruitfully as during the decades of the April line.

The theoretical development and practical approaches formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th BCP Congress substantiate and develop methodological, political and practical problems and tasks of the BCP and the socialist state for the further development of the mature socialist society. These developments are a brilliant manifestation of the skill of our first state and party leader to formulate and resolve crucial and urgent problems of development in accordance with the effect of the general and specific laws of

building a developed socialist society. Actually, the April school of thought and action is characterized mainly by the steady study, profound analysis and creative summation of social practice and the extraction from this practice of ideas, approaches and solutions which, in turn, convert into a revolutionizing element of the entire spiritual climate of the country and a powerful factor in mobilizing the working people for the even more efficient implementation of the party's plans.

As part of the essence of the contemporary development of the April party line, together with the elaboration of the party's strategy of improving quality, the new economic approach and its mechanism, the specific laws of the mature socialist society, the scientific and technical revolution, the stipulation of the owner and manager of socialist property, the concept of value and related commodity-monetary relations, the growing role of the people's masses as the makers of history and the development of socialist democracy, problems of the spiritual development of the individual and society and the political, moral and other social values and the patriotic and international upbringing of the socialist working person, hold an important position as well.

Labor, the steady aspiration toward persistent and honest toil, the age-old respect and consideration for the dignity of the working person, are true people's virtues and traditions. Both in the past and the present, labor has been a high value and an objective need of the Bulgarian people, and the creator of all material and spiritual values. It was on this basis and in this spirit that the BCP substantially enriched and developed the theory and practice of the nature and significance of labor and labor education. In the age of mature socialism and the scientific and technical revolution objectively new requirements and criteria developed concerning labor and labor activities. The nature and quality of labor changed. Under socialist conditions the scientific and technical revolution demands highly skilled and educated cadres who can actively develop its main directions, who can promptly and qualitatively link science with material production. This can be accomplished by individuals with high labor virtues, possessors of modern social values and expressed intellectual capabilities. Essentially, modern labor and production and socialist development require the molding of a comprehensively developed individual. That is why the BCP considers socialist labor an essential feature of the new way of life and a foundation for the comprehensive upbringing and social realization of the individual. It is precisely the development of the socialist individual and his increasingly fuller and integral progress toward a comprehensively developed personality that is one of the greatest accomplishments of the party and the people. It is legitimate for highly skilled and efficient work and high labor consciousness and a proper attitude toward labor and labor upbringing to be a permanent task of the BCP and the people and for their qualitative solution to enhance our national pride and intensify socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The problems and tasks relative to the nature and development of the revolutionary virtues and traditions of the party and the people are essential elements in the process of the molding and development of a many-faceted

individual. The party program and, particularly, the work by Comrade T. Zhivkov "Problems and Approaches in Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic," which is a further development of the party's program and a true contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, pay exceptional attention to and develop profoundly the most important aspects and characteristics of this complex and dynamic process. In addition to a wealth of revolutionary virtues and traditions and live and steadily developing patriotism and internationalism, the comprehensively developed individual must possess a number of new abilities and qualities. Our first party and state leader points out that it is a question of profound ideological convictions and high socialist consciousness, a high degree of education and general culture, lasting knowledge and professional training, the mastery of a profession to the level of contemporary scientific and technical achievements and labor quality criteria, and the ability independently, daringly and creatively to think and act, to have a feeling for the new and display the ability to engage in constant independent training and self-advancement. This is a theoretical interpretation of the problems of the comprehensive development of the individual of historical meaning and significance and of strategic importance in building a mature socialist society. It defines the main tasks of the party, the state and society in molding the comprehensive and, in the future, the all-round developed individual.

Socialist patriotism is born and strengthens in the socialist revolution and, particularly, the process of socialist construction. It combines within itself love for the homeland and the other political and social virtues with loyalty to the socialist social system. "The sources of patriotism," Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "are not and cannot be exclusively rooted in the past of our people and our country.... We are building a new life and a new world and this new life and new world give us all the necessary reasons to be proud of ourselves as a party, a people, a country."¹³

The historically durable social and moral values contribute to enhancing the awareness and responsibility of the individual, the enrichment of the spiritual world of society and the most active participation in the practical implementation of the party's policy. It is thus that the dialectics between socioclass, national and human virtues and traditions becomes an important factor in the upbringing of the individual and in ensuring the comprehensive and ascending development of our country.

Socialism disenfranchised the tremendous creative forces of the people. The builders of contemporary Bulgaria, the legitimate heirs of the eternal flame of construction which burned in the hearts of our predecessors, are converting labor into the highest moral category. The accelerated development of our homeland toward socialism is the basic patriotic duty of the people. In his speech to the Bulgarian students, Comrade Zhivkov said that "today the Bulgarian People's Republic...does not need your heroic death. Today the Bulgarian People's Republic needs your youthful energy, creativity and actions in the development of our renovated fatherland.... For there is no greater moral satisfaction or greater happiness on this world than becoming one with the life and struggle of the people."¹⁴

The party program, the resolutions of the 12th Congress and the subsequent party forums and the National Party Conference on Quality most directly link socialist patriotism with the nationwide struggle for high quality in the work of every member of society and in all areas of life. The party call for high quality everywhere and in everything is becoming a vital imperative, the main content of the contribution of the working people to the material, social and spiritual upsurge of the homeland.

The patriotism of the contemporary Bulgarian is his awareness of social responsibility and as a builder of developed socialist society. It is his awareness that the struggle for the social blossoming of Bulgaria is our contribution to the efforts of the entire socialist communist for the victory of the socialist social system in the confrontation with imperialism.

The unbreakable unity of socialist patriotism with socialist internationalism has its objective foundations in the nature of the socialist fatherland. On the one hand, the socialist fatherland is the offspring of the socialist revolution. It is a manifestation of the historical unity among people, native land and socialist system. On the other, it is also the offspring of international solidarity. In the course of building the new life our socialist fatherland is linked through a fraternal equal alliance with the other members of the socialist community. It supports the enslaved classes and peoples in their struggle for social and national freedom. It struggles against imperialism and for peace on earth. The practical activities of the BCP and its domestic and foreign policies, which ensure the successful development of the socialist social system, strengthen the fraternal equal alliance among the members of the socialist community and make their contribution to international revolutionary solidarity. It is the embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist idea of the unity of patriotism with internationalism. The BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic's supreme class-party, national-state and international duty is maximally to contribute to the power and unity of the world socialist community, which is the main support of the world revolutionary process and the main factor in the preservation of world peace.

Our country fully participates in socialist integration with the CEMA member countries. It is a loyal and secure detachment of the defensive organization of the socialist countries--the Warsaw Pact. All Bulgarians are aware of the fact that the all-round development of the socialist fatherland and our national independence are inconceivable outside the cooperation and alliance among the fraternal socialist countries.

The BCP has always been guided by the conviction that the experience and practice of the CPSU are an example of creative application of Marxism-Leninism in action, that the CPSU is the most experienced and tempered detachment of the international worker and communist movements and that Lenin's party and the Soviet state are a powerful support of the revolutionary movement in the world. Our party supports and emphasizes this truth, believing that its acknowledgment and consideration is one of the essential objective conditions for the unity of the communist ranks.

The fraternal friendship which exists between the Bulgarian and Soviet people is a lasting acquisition of our national history, a specific form of socialist internationalism in action. This is no simple friendship between two nations confirmed with a treaty of alliance. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is an objective law of the socialist development of our homeland.

The BCP is promoting the expansion of cooperation with communist and worker parties and the further development and closer unity of the world communist movement. "The interests of the global struggle," notes Comrade Todor Zhivkov, "demand the type of combination of national with international tasks among all proletarian detachments which would ensure the victory of socialism in each individual country. Without resolving national problems and without the struggle against 'its own' bourgeoisie, the working class of a given country cannot fully participate in resolving the common, the international problem of the proletariat. Conversely, without active participation in the struggle against the common enemy--imperialism--and without international class solidarity the working class of any individual country would be unable to defeat its national enemy, its 'own' national bourgeoisie or resolve its national problems."¹⁵

The BCP program formulates as an important task for the party to contribute to the unification of all revolutionary forces in the struggle for freedom and national independence and against imperialism. This is a struggle for the full and definitive elimination of all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and of all centers and recurrences of racism and for the establishment of true equality and total independence of the nations. Strengthening the alliance between Third World countries and the members of the world socialist community, from which they receive full support and comprehensive assistance, is of decisive importance to the prospects of their anti-imperialist struggle.

Under the contemporary, exceptionally stressed and alarming international situation, when the existence of human civilization is threatened by imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, the BCP, the Bulgarian state, our entire people are tirelessly performing their international duty by strengthening the community of the socialist countries, providing all-round aid to the national liberation movements and all progressive forces, expanding their solidarity with the international workers movement and struggling for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. They are pursuing a firm policy of the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and are struggling for the preservation of peace and international security and the prevention of a global thermonuclear conflict.

The activeness of the most reactionary circles and militant groups which are following a course of open aggression and broad ideological subversion, violating all international norms, has drastically intensified with the aggravation of the international situation.

The anticommunist ideological aggression is assuming a very real, very tangible, socially dangerous aspect. Characteristically, the class enemy is making persistent efforts to shift the struggle against the socialist social

system both in the international arena and the territories of the socialist countries, using the means and methods of subversive penetration and influence, linking ideological diversion with various other acute forms of class struggle, which is waged in a specific, differentiated and purposeful manner. The main efforts are concentrated on twisting the way of thinking of individuals and social groups. We see an open aspiration to create permanent hotbeds of tension within the socialist countries and inspiring "crisis situations." In some countries' platforms for the unification of antisocialist and nationalistic forces, the creation of an internal opposition and organized resistance are offered. Increasing efforts are being made to discredit real socialism. Large-scale actions are used such as the so-called "Antonov case," the incident with the South Korean airplane, and the most recent provocation involving Zakharov and his wife.

Nationalism and cosmopolitanism are being used for purposes of destabilizing socialism and as a base for the development of domestic opposition forces. The bourgeois theoreticians are speculating on the historical past and the inherited complex and contradictory relations among the individual nations and ethnic groups in order to maintain a stress among them and purposefully to encourage nationalistic passions and actions. They are developing and directing large-scale subversive ideological actions against individual socialist nations and states. They conduct loud high-sounding nationalistic propaganda without, however, ignoring quieter and more refined methods of stirring commotion, ambiguity, contradictions and disinformation and reviving old and obsolete ideas.

The main objective of the class enemy and the international reaction is to drive a wedge between the working people and the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national problem and the fact that it is dialectically based on socioclass relations, to pit them against the party policy of building developed socialism and to weaken their attachment to the socialist fatherland the socialist community.

Increasing efforts have been made of late to engage in total ideological subversive activities and to restore and update nationalism as a theory and practice and through it to seek ways of engaging in antisocialist and anti-Bulgarian actions.

The treacherous efforts of international imperialism and its special services are aimed at indoctrinating the minds and behavior of the working people in a spirit of impudent and aggressive nationalism, rejection of national characteristics and historically created and established values of a given nation or else pitting one nation against others.

The United States and the NATO countries and their special services and propaganda centers are making tremendous material and other efforts to destabilize the socialist community, to undermine its political, economic and cultural unity and cooperation and to alienate individual countries and peoples from socialist development. In this respect the class enemy is exploiting the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism or manifestations of erroneous and one-sided ideas on patriotism and internationalism.

Such antisocialist activities conducted by the reactionary imperialist circles demand of all of us to be politically vigilant always and everywhere and to wage a systematic and aggressive struggle against any attempt at theoretical and political restoration of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

The national self-respect and national pride of the Bulgarian people have no place for nationalism and reactionary views on national exclusivity or superiority of some nations over others. The exaggeration of national or regional specifics, combined with the denigration of the international unity of the working people under contemporary conditions, when the common class enemy is actively coordinating his antisocialist actions on an international scale, is a confirmation of national exclusivity and of substituting nationalism for true patriotism.

The legitimate process of building a mature socialist society and the all-round development of the country and the people objectively require the steady development and strengthening of our loyalty and dedication to the cause of the BCP and our profound and meaningful patriotism and real and active internationalism. That is how we will march in step with the time in which we live and work.

The profound interpenetration of patriotism with internationalism within the modern Bulgarian working people is manifested in the legitimate feeling of national pride. This feeling has both its historical and contemporary foundations for, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "little Bulgaria has left a deep mark in the history of human civilization, for the profound patriotism of the Bulgarian people has always been inseparable from their pure internationalism and for today as well we are actively making our contribution to global political, economic and cultural processes."¹⁶

Our national pride includes an awareness of the greatness and beauty of socialist Bulgaria as well as proletarian internationalism and all-round friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community.

The historical experience of the BCP and the Bulgarian people, the CPSU and the Soviet people and the world communist and worker movements and all toiling mankind legitimately proves that the path of revolutionary development "from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom" legitimately demands a policy of true and effective patriotism and internationalism. The objective dialectics of these two sides of sociohistorical development plays a tremendous methodological, theoretical, political and practical role in the class struggle against any social oppression, in building mature socialism and actively participating and assisting the global revolutionary process and the peaceful development of the nations toward socialism and communism.

Guided by the BCP, during the past 40 years the Bulgarian people achieved tremendous successes in all fields of socioeconomic life. Invested in these historical gains are the efforts, energy, toil, political activeness and responsibility of the working people and their unparalleled patriotism and

internationalism. Our socialist contemporaneity proved yet once again categorically that the revolutionary traditions and virtues of the people and the party are an essential element of our present and future social and personal lives and that they contain and preserve the tremendous wisdom and political culture of lasting and revolutionizing importance in the development of the people and the youth.

The BCP preserves these accomplishments with its mind and heart. It creates conditions for their further development. It enriches their content and offers new directions for their existence, thus providing opportunities for reaching ever greater achievements in our material and spiritual life. It is only thus that the value system, revolutionary traditions and virtues of the party and people will be asserted and developed and the meaning, content and effectiveness of socialist patriotism and internationalism enriched.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Slovo za Bulgariya" [A Word on Bulgaria], Sofia, 1981, pp 4-5.
2. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 16, p 25.
3. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 17, p 46.
4. Iv. Undzhiev and N. Kondarev, "Stranitsi ot Pismata na Vasil Levski" [Pages From Vasil Levski's Letters], Sofia, 1968, pp 34, 37.
5. Ibid., p 31.
6. D. Blagoev, op. cit., Vol 12, p 222.
7. Ibid., Vol 2, p 364.
8. K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., Vol 33, p 378.
9. G. Kirkov, "Izbrani Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol 1, p 256.
10. G. Dimitrov, op. cit., vol 11, p 183.
11. "Rezolyutsiya na XXII Kongres na BKP vuv Vruzka s 25-Godishninata na Aprilskiya Plenum na TsK na PKP ot 1956 g." [Resolution of the 12th BCP Congress in Connection With the 25th Anniversary of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum], Sofia, 1981, pp 7-8.
12. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 21 Oct 1983.
13. T. Zhivkov, "Izbrani Proizvedeniya," Vol 16, pp 46-47.
14. Ibid., pp 185-186.
15. Ibid., Vol 17, p 295.
16. T. Zhivkov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 21 October 1983.

Bulgarian Communists' International Responsibility

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 81-92

[Article by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution is the most noteworthy event in the life of the Bulgarian Communist Party and socialist Bulgaria. The communists and all working people in our country welcome this anniversary with a feeling of legitimate pride in their worthily performed duty to the generations of revolutionaries who dedicated their lives to the struggle for national and social liberation and the present and future generations of Bulgaria, and our brothers in class and ideals in the other countries. Within a short historical period, through its selfless toil and headed by the Bulgarian Communist Party, our people transformed Bulgaria, turning it into a socialist state with a developed industry, highly mechanized socialist agriculture and a blossoming culture, and a firm link of the world socialist community.

I

The 9 September revolution has its national and international dimensions. It blends within it the national and international interests and objectives, tasks and responsibilities of the party members and the people in Bulgaria. "Without the solution of our national tasks and without the struggle against 'its own' bourgeoisie," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, "the working class of any given country cannot fully participate in resolving the common international problem of the proletariat. Conversely, without active participation in the struggle against the common enemy--imperialism--and without international class solidarity the working class in an individual country will be unable to defeat its national enemy, its 'own' national bourgeoisie or able to resolve its national problems."¹

The 9 September Socialist Revolution was the natural consequence of the entire preceding economic, social, political and cultural development of Bulgaria and became part of the 13 centuries of Bulgaria as the continuation and completion of the cause of generations of revolutionaries--fighters for national and social liberation. It was the accomplishment of workers, toiling peasants and the people's intelligentsia, guided by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Bulgarian working class and toiling peasants waged a lengthy legal and clandestine, peaceful and armed struggle against bourgeois domination and monarcho-fascist dictatorship. This struggle became particularly acute during World War II.

The struggle waged against Bulgarian monarcho-fascism was of national and important international significance, for it was also a struggle against one of the detachments of world fascism. The decision itself of starting the armed struggle, which was made the day which followed the treacherous attack which Hitlerite Germany mounted against the Soviet Union, indicated the profound internationalism of the BCP.

The victorious march of the Soviet army in 1944 paralyzed the resistance of the monarcho-fascists. It created an atmosphere in which the antifascist forces, headed by our party, seized the power and led the country toward building a socialist society.

The main motives and objectives of the revolutionary forces which carried out the struggle were fully consistent with the motives and objectives of the communists and the other progressive and democratic forces in the world and their struggle against fascism and for democratic changes, social progress and socialism.

Profoundly national in nature and motive forces, the 9 September revolution rescued the country from new national catastrophe and preserved its territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. It eliminated monarcho-fascist dictatorship, freed the people from political oppression, emancipated its energy and gave scope to its constructive forces. It created the necessary political and material prerequisites for surmounting backwardness and ensuring fast economic and cultural progress. The most profound and most meaningful revolutionary change took place in the development of the country. A way was opened to Bulgaria for the implementation of the age-old aspirations of our people for freedom, democracy and social justice and for building a socialist society.

In terms of its class and social content the 9 September revolution was a "repetition of the main features of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a continuation of the cause of the October Revolution under our circumstances, a part and manifestation of the great global transition from capitalism to socialism."² In this sense it was an accomplishment not only of the Bulgarian people but of the international working class.

The building of a socialist society after the 9 September victory became the supreme national and international task of the Bulgarian communists.

In the implementation of this task our party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism. It relied on the experience and help of the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties and countries.

During the initial period, when the foundations were being laid and the first steps were being taken in building socialism, Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, was the head of the party and the state. It was under his leadership that the people's democratic state was built and the solution of the basic economic, social and cultural problems was undertaken. The 5th Party Congress earmarked a scientific course of building socialism which outlined the way of creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism consistent with specific Bulgarian national conditions and traditions.

It was extremely clear to the BCP and its leadership that a people's democratic state can strengthen and develop only by strengthening its solidarity with the international proletariat and, above all, its friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the consistent

pursuit of a policy of internationalism in international relations, directed toward strengthening real socialism, against imperialism and aggression and for unification of all anti-imperialist forces in the defense of peace the world over. "The people's democracy and people's democratic state," Georgi Dimitrov pointed out, "favor internationalism.... Our party considers internationalism and international cooperation a guarantee of the independent existence, success and progress toward socialism by our country."³

The building of socialism in our country was hard. The working class inherited from capitalism a backward economy dislocated by the war. The aggravation of international relations toward the end of the 1940s and the first half of the 1950s and the subversive activities of the imperialist reaction against our country, world socialism and the worker and communist movements created great difficulties. The violations of the Leninist norms of party and state life during the period of the cult of personality in our country created additional difficulties for the party and the people.

The historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum condemned and rejected the cult of personality, alien to Marxism-Leninism, socialist society and the BCP, and restored the Leninist principles and norms of party life and laid the beginning of the renovating April party line.

The April Plenum and the elaboration, creative development and application of the Leninist April line of our party are inseparably linked with the person and efforts of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the NRB State Council. It was under his leadership that the BCP ensured the victory of socialist social relations and undertook the building of a developed socialist society while at the same time discovering and finding ways of resolving arising contradictions and theoretically and practically developing the new problems which appear in the political, economic, social and cultural areas.

Bulgaria achieved significant economic successes after the historical April Plenum. Between 1956 and 1983 the national income increased by a factor of 7.5; industrial production increased by a factor of 12.5; machine-building output by a factor of 62 and chemical output by a factor of almost 45. During that time agricultural production increased by a factor of 2.5 and foreign trade by a factor of 37.

The living standards of the working people improved substantially. Between 1956 and 1983 real wages more than doubled. Within that period 1,348,000 housing units were built.

Qualitative changes took place in social and labor relations as well and remarkable successes were achieved in the areas of health care, education, literature, art and science. The life of the Bulgarian people changed radically. They have long forgotten exploitation and unemployment. Their political, social and human rights are guaranteed and secured and so is their future and that of their children. The conditions and opportunities for realizing and developing their talents are broadening and improving steadily.

Such accomplishments by a small country with limited natural resources, achieved within such a short historical time, are accomplishments not only of the Bulgarian people and its communist party. They are also a success for the entire socialist community, of which the Bulgarian People's Republic is a firm link. At a time when the countries of real socialism are the target of an unprecedented campaign on the part of global reaction in its efforts to discredit socialism as a theory and practice, the successes achieved by our country are the most outstanding proof of the vital creative forces of socialism and the potential and real possibilities of building socialism headed by a tried Marxist-Leninist party.

The 12th BCP Congress set for our people new broad tasks in building mature socialism. A strategy was formulated of converting from essentially extensive to intensive economic development, of using the achievements of scientific and technical progress and systematically applying the economic approach. The National Party Conference, which took place last March, further developed and concretized this strategy and adopted a long-term quality improvement program.

The strategy formulated by the 12th Congress, further developed and concretized by the National Party Conference and in the theoretical developments and practical approaches of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress, covers all areas of our lives: the building of a material and technical base and improving the political system, social and labor relations, education, culture, science and the living standard.

The BCP and our people consider the implementation of this strategy in building a mature socialist society their principal national and international task and responsibility.

II

The BCP has always considered the participation, along with the other fraternal countries, in the common and coordinated efforts to strengthen and advance the global socialist community its prime international duty. "By linking our fate with that of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "we, the Bulgarian communists and Bulgarian people, are assuming our share of historical responsibility for the destinies of world socialism and the fate of mankind."⁴

The world socialist community has a tremendous impact on contemporary processes. It is the main force which opposes imperialism and makes a decisive contribution to the creation of favorable international conditions for the successful development of all socialist states. It is the support and the ally of the national liberation movements and the newly liberated countries and the working class and revolutionary and democratic forces in their struggle for peace, national and social liberation, democracy and social progress.

The world socialist community is a qualitatively new phenomenon in history. The unification of sovereign socialist countries and its growth and development into the main force of socialist progress are due above all to the

consistent Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. This is a policy consistent with the objective laws of the socialist system. It reflects the objective interdependence among socialist countries, the common nature of their basic interests and objectives of their nations and the vital need for their all-round cooperation and mutual aid.

The BCP is guided in its activities precisely by this consistent Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy. The line of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal members of the socialist community is the general line pursued in the foreign policy of our state and the BCP and its cornerstone.

Our party has always held the view that the relations of any socialist country with the Soviet Union are of determining significance in the development of the socialist community and the entire global socialist system. The Soviet Union was the first country to blaze a path to socialism. Its victory in World War II and its interaction with the revolutionary and democratic forces played a decisive role in the victory of the socialist revolutions in a number of countries in Europe and Asia and the conversion of socialism into a global system. The Soviet Union is the most powerful socialist state, possessing tremendous economic and military strength. It is the nucleus around which the world socialist community developed.

To us, Bulgarian communists, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has repeatedly emphasized, Georgi Dimitrov's definition, who described fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union as the "testing stone" of internationalism, has retained its relevance.

The course of all-round rapprochement and integration between the NRB and the USSR and between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, while strengthening and preserving their independence, pursued over the past 10 years, is a factor of prime importance in the upsurge of socialist Bulgaria. This course is being successfully and usefully implemented. It covers all areas and our social, material and spiritual life.

Favorable conditions have been created in recent years for establishing even closer ties between the Bulgarian and Soviet production, scientific and technical and spiritual potential. The attention is focused on the implementation of the general plan for specialization and cooperation in material production between Bulgaria and the USSR through 1990. It calls for an unparalleled scale of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

The results of the meetings between the first party and state leaders of the NRB and the USSR earmark new and impressive prospects for the further expansion of our comprehensive rapprochement. The implementation of this course is not only of great national but of important international significance. Through it the Bulgarian and Soviet people are making a specific joint contribution to the rapprochement among the members of the socialist community and the building of a "voluntary fraternal alliance of free peoples in the world," as the founders of Marxism-Leninism predicted.

Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community are the motive force of our socialist progress. Without them and without the aid and support of the Soviet Union the successes with which our people are welcoming the 40th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution would have been impossible.

Bulgaria is an active participant in the establishment and development of the new type of international relations which are taking place within the socialist community. It is tied with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries with bilateral treaties. It is a member of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. As we know, relations among the members of the socialist community are based on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, mutual profit and comradely mutual aid. The strengthening and development of such relations is a major prerequisite for the advancement of the individual members of the socialist community and the community as a whole.

Bulgaria is making its contribution to the development and intensification of socialist integration. It is pursuing a policy of comprehensive political, economic and cultural rapprochement with all fraternal socialist countries.

The historical experience acquired over the past 40 years indicates that socialism as a world system is developing on the basis of objective laws and that contradictions may also appear within it. Unlike the contradictions within the global capitalist system, however, they are not antagonistic.

Our party is convinced that the profound knowledge of the objective laws of development of the world socialist system and the reasons for the appearance of contradictions, as well as the strict observance of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are the main and decisive prerequisites for finding the most accurate way of surmounting such contradictions and strengthening the unity and unity of action of the socialist countries. Our party has always irreconcilably struggled against violations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and all manifestations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism. It has opposed any action aimed at destroying the unity of the socialist countries.

The BCP is deeply aware of the need for cooperation with the fraternal parties in the interpretation of acquired experience, the study of the new phenomena in the socialist community, determining the ways of resolving new problems and strengthening unity and increasing the power and enhancing the influence of the socialist community on global developments. It willingly participates in gatherings which contribute to this effect.

As the latest documents of the CPSU, the BCP and the other fraternal parties indicate, the effect of a number of factors which require the even closer cohesion among the members of the socialist community has intensified under contemporary conditions. The main among them is the worsening of the international situation by the fault of imperialism. The members of the socialist community will be able to maintain the military strategic parity needed in

order to safeguard world peace and to defeat the aggressive imperialist plans only by being united and cohesive.

The fact that the further intensification of economic integration and all-round cooperation among fraternal countries is required by the new tasks in laying the material and technical foundations for a mature socialist society and the development of the scientific and technical revolution is also of tremendous importance. The summit economic conference held by CEMA member countries in Moscow last June and the documents it adopted will provide a new strong impetus for the further development of socialist economic integration.

Socialism, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, is influencing the world and the global revolutionary process essentially through its economic policy. This Leninist concept is becoming increasingly important. Under the conditions of the sharp confrontation between capitalism and socialism, "socialism is proving in action that it is a society of historical equality and progress and of steady economic upsurge, a society which gives priority to the interests of the working class and the working people."⁵

III

The BCP and socialist Bulgaria have no more important task than that of preventing a thermonuclear war and preserving and strengthening global peace. "There is no other problem," Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "which determines to such an extent the fate, well-being and existence not only of individual classes, nations or areas but of all humankind as is the safeguard and strengthening of peace."⁶

This thought expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov reflects the indivisibility of the struggle waged by the communists for social progress and the struggle for the preservation of human civilization and guaranteeing the people's right to life.

In the past 40 years from the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution the strength and energy of the BCP and socialist Bulgaria have been invariably concentrated on resolving this problem of problems. Our country is making its contribution to strengthening the unity and upgrading the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact, which is a guarantee for peace in the contemporary world. In the United Nations and at other international forums Bulgaria has invariably supported the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. It was one of the initiators of convening and actively participated in the successful Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, 1975), which led to the process of detente in Europe and the world during the 1970s. It also participated in the Belgrade and Madrid meetings.

Socialist Bulgaria is making its contribution to expanding relations and cooperation with neighboring Balkan countries with its policy of peace, good neighborly relations and cooperation. The initiatives of the BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone has met with a positive response and support of the governments and peoples of the Balkan countries. The meetings of experts, which were held in Athens on the initiative of the Greek Government, laid a

good beginning for coordinating the positions of the interested countries on this vitally important matter. We are convinced that the implementation of the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone will have an exceptionally favorable impact on the situation not only in our area but throughout Europe.

The position of our party regarding the situation in the world at present is well-known. The Bulgarian people joined the concern of the peoples throughout the world caused by the aggravation of international tension and the increased danger of a nuclear catastrophe, fatal to human civilization, created by the aggressive policies of the present U.S. Government and its NATO allies. The deployment of new American nuclear missiles in England, the FRG and Italy, which began at the end of last year, triggered a further worsening of the international situation. The Geneva talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe became meaningless. The Warsaw Pact members were forced to answer the challenge of the United States and NATO and to adopt respective measures to maintain the military strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO, vital to the cause of peace. These responding measures prove the futility of the efforts of the U.S. Government and its NATO allies to obtain military superiority. Restoring the situation which prevailed until the new American nuclear missiles were deployed in some Western European countries demands the improvement of international relations and the strengthening of trust among countries.

As a party and state we unreservedly support the Leninist peace policy consistently and steadfastly pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Government. This is a realistic and constructive policy which takes into consideration the interests of all countries and nations and is aimed at the restructuring of international relations on a democratic and equitable basis, and the elimination of war and coercion in international relations and the guaranteeing of peace.

The constructive positions and specific suggestions formulated by the Warsaw Pact members, contained in the Prague Political Declaration (January 1983) and the Declaration of the Leaders of the Socialist Countries, which was held in Moscow (July 1983) and a number of subsequent initiatives on their part indicate, yet once again, that at the present time it is particularly the members of the socialist community which act as the main force struggling for the preservation of peace. The main thing now is to end the senseless arms race, the nuclear race above all, and to eliminate from the life of mankind the nightmare of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Together with the other members of the Warsaw Pact, Bulgaria is trying to contribute to the success of the Stockholm Conference which could play an important role in the efforts to achieve specific steps aimed at strengthening trust and security and disarmament in Europe.

It would be extremely risky to underestimate the complex and rather alarming situation which has developed in the world by the fault of the most reactionary and militaristically leaning circles of imperialism, in the United States above all. It would be an equally grave error to consider that everything is

fatally lost and that mankind should reconcile itself with the steady increase in tension and the monstrous arms race or nurture the illusion that the fatal line will not be crossed only because of the obviously fatal consequences of an eventual nuclear war. Such views doom the people's masses to unjustified passiveness and inaction.

The initiatives and suggestions submitted by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members enjoy the active support of public, political and governmental circles in many parts of the world. Mass antiwar and antimissile movements, involving broad social strata and people of different ideological and political persuasions, are increasing their activities against the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles, for putting an end to the arms race and for disarmament. The movement of nonaligned countries is an essential factor in strengthening world peace. The Socialist International and a number of its member parties have come out with their own initiatives and proposals for lifting the tension in international relations. In a number of cases these proposals are similar to those submitted by the Warsaw Pact members. Religious and pacifist organizations and movements are joining in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and a broad peace front is being formed.

All of this indicates that the adventurist course of the Reagan administration is meeting with a growing opposition throughout the earth. This opposition confirms the rising opportunities for the peoples in the struggle against dangerous imperialist policy.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are firmly rebuffing the policy of force in international relations. The CPSU Peace Program for the 1980s and the new proposals submitted by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact members are a broad and constructive platform for detente and for achieving real results in disarmament.

As the declaration of the CEMA members "Safeguarding Peace and International Economic Cooperation," which was adopted in Moscow last June, emphasizes, "more than ever before today all parliaments and governments and the broad world public and all sensibly thinking people must join efforts in preserving and strengthening peace, restraining the arms race, promoting disarmament, nuclear in particular, and normalizing international economic relations in the interest of all countries and peoples."⁷

IV

The communist movement, which, ever since its appearance, has invariably called for a world without wars, is called upon to play an important role. Once again today it is holding a proper place in the leading ranks of the supporters of peace. As an influential and organized social force in the individual countries, the communist parties bear great responsibility for the unification of all forces struggling for lifting the threat of nuclear catastrophe and saving life on the planet, regardless of class, ideological and political differences among them.

The BCP has always deemed it its obligation and honor actively to participate in the life and activities of the international communist and worker movements and to make its contribution to strengthening its international unity and unity of action and for developing fraternal solidarity and mutual aid among communist and worker parties. To the BCP this is a matter of deeply rooted and lasting historical traditions, an aware need triggered by the objective course of the class struggle on national and international levels and a feeling of responsibility to our and the international working class and the revolutionary and democratic forces in the world.

More than 90 years ago, the revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian working class, which was created by Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers in 1891, proclaimed itself part of the universal social democratic movement. It was precisely because of its consistent internationalism, which it continued during World War I as well, that the Bulgarian Worker Social Democratic Party (left-wing socialists) was classified by V. I. Lenin as part of the "revolutionary internationalists," the "internationalists in action" within the socialist and labor movements and was defined by him as a leftist and internationalist party. This party enthusiastically welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution. It became the cofounder of the Communist International. It took the name of Bulgarian Communist Party. Within the Comintern the BCP mastered V. I. Lenin's great theories, creatively learned from the experience of the CPSU and developed as a party of a new Leninist type. We are proud of the fact that Georgi Dimitrov, the famous hero of Leipzig, the noted Leninist-type leader and noted personality of the international communist and worker movements, came from the ranks of the Bulgarian working class and the Bulgarian Communist Party. His person is related to the most profound turn in the history of the revolutionary worker movement which took place with the resolutions of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International. Georgi Dimitrov's ideas of the united and popular fronts in the struggle against fascism and war remain relevant today, when communists and all progressive and peace-loving forces are faced with the task of saving mankind from nuclear destruction.

After World War II the BCP joined the efforts of the fraternal parties in finding methods for international communication and cooperation consistent with the new historical conditions. Its activities in this respect became particularly active and fruitful after the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. It was precisely as a result of the April Plenum and the Leninist April line that the activities of our party in the international communist movement became even more active and fruitful. The BCP participated in and contributed to the success of the Moscow 1957, 1960 and 1969 conferences and the conferences and meetings of communist and worker parties in Europe of 1967, 1976 and 1980. The BCP is one of the cofounders and active participant in the activities of the international theoretical and information periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, which has played an important role in the life of the international communist and worker movements for the past quarter of a century.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the leader of our party and state, plays a decisive role in the formulation and implementation of BCP activities in the international arena. He has proven himself a worthy perpetuator of the cause of

Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov and the Blagoev-Dimitrov internationalist traditions of our party and as a noted personality in the internationalist communist and worker movements.

The BCP supports the Marxist-Leninist concept of the international nature of the communist movement, which has not only not lost its significance but has become even more relevant today. The differences in the national conditions under which the individual communist parties operate, in the nature of their problems and the views they hold on specific and general problems of international life, do not invalidate the common tasks or lower the need for international solidarity and cooperation. The communist movement is the most important and decisive factor of social progress. The fraternal cooperation and solidarity among communist and worker parties in all countries--socialist and nonsocialist--are vitally needed by the individual parties and the entire international communist movement. The overall international tasks and responsibilities of the party members, whose volume and complexity have increased greatly, call for raising their unity and unity of action to an even higher level.

The activities of our party in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the communist movement are extensive, creative and effective. The Bulgarian communists have always learned from the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties and have used it most extensively in their practical activities. Furthermore, they readily share their experience acquired during the period of struggle against monarcho-fascist regime, the first revolutionary changes made after 9 September and the current period in building a developed socialist society.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, love for the great Leninist party and readiness to help with everything at its disposal and show its comradely sincerity make the BCP loved and respected by the fraternal parties, who give it their trust and communist solidarity. Naturally, this is not only a source of pride but a great obligation of the Bulgarian communists to work even better in all fields of life. It is a question, above all, of our specific accomplishments in building developed socialism, for the internal political successes of Bulgaria are the foundation of our reputation in the world communist and worker movements and the strengthened role of the country in international relations.

The experience of the BCP and of socialist Bulgaria over the 40 years which followed the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution is a confirmation of the validity and universal nature of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It clearly proves the vital force of the international cohesion of all parties and countries building socialism with the CPSU and the Soviet state and the socialist community, the international working class and the national liberation movements.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such.," Vol 17, p 195.
2. Ibid., Vol 4, p 178.

3. G. Dimitrov, "Izbr. Proizv.," Sofia, 1972, Vol 8, p 258.
4. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., Vol 28, pp 241-242.
5. K. U. Chernenko, "Speech at the Reception in the Kremlin in Honor of the Participants in the Summit Economic Conference of the CEMA Member Countries," RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 15 June 1984.
6. T. Zhivkov, "S Usiliyata i Volyata na Vsichki Narodi--na Nepreklonna Borba za Traen i Spravedliv Mir" [With the Efforts and Will of All Nations--For Flexible Struggle for a Lasting and Just Peace]. Sofia, 1980, p 6.
7. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 16 June 1984.

Partnership in Socialist Community

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 93-103

[Article by Kiril Zarev, BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Gaining the position of equal partner in economic ties and relations in international markets is a complex and lengthy process. The acceptance of a country as a firm economic partner is one of the determining indicators of the level it has reached in its socioeconomic development and the essential economic, scientific and technical and commercial achievements it has attained. In turn, attaining such accomplishments in building socialism requires a farsighted policy, the tremendous creative energy of the people and an accurate foreign economic strategy.

The main and decisive prerequisites in gaining and acquiring the trust of others in foreign economic relations are the following: a highly developed material and technical base with an internal power for a dynamically expanding reproduction; a national economic complex, which can produce and offer commodities needed by other interested partners for the solution of their basic production problems; a scientific and technical potential, which can maintain a contemporary standard of output consistent with the achievements of scientific and technical progress; developed foreign trade relations based on a stable balance of payments, and others.

In the period of building socialism and mainly after the historical April BCP Central Committee Plenum, the working people developed a tremendous constructive energy and unparalleled creativity and initiative under the party's leadership in surmounting the age-old backwardness of the country, resolving the vitally important problems included in the party's program for building a developed socialist society, earning a worthy position in the family of fraternal socialist countries and establishing mutually profitable economic relations with the nonsocialist countries.

Today, as we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, our people can look at its past with legitimate pride and evaluate

its tremendous successes in all fields of social life and development, unparalleled in the 13-century-old history of the Bulgarian state. The peaks achieved in our country's socioeconomic upsurge are the broad and firm foundation for its highly developed foreign economic relations. Bulgaria maintains commercial relations with 112 countries, 14 of which are socialist, 28 capitalist and 70 developing. It is one of the few countries in the world with stable and improving foreign exchange balances despite the extremely complex and adverse trends in the economic situation prevailing on the capitalist markets.

Today both friendly countries and countries which could not be suspected of nurturing good feelings toward socialism acknowledge and respect the Bulgarian People's Republic as an equal and reliable partner in economic relations. This is a tremendous success and historical victory which determines the stable positions held by our economy and which opens new opportunities for the further blossoming of our socialist homeland.

The question naturally arises of how our country was able to resolve this exceptionally difficult problem within such an exceptionally short time. The study of the country's overall development provides an answer to this question.

The party's policy and strategy for the development of production forces and the improvement of social relations is of leading significance in the system of motive forces of the country's accelerated economic, social and cultural upsurge. The April Leninist general party line, of which Comrade Todor Zhivkov is the mind and heart, with its inherent creative scope, inner charge and dialectics, ensured the dynamic and stable growth of the national economy in accordance with the laws governing the building of socialism. It led our country to positions comparable to the developed socialist and capitalist countries in terms of the level of output and its structure and the satisfaction of the material, spiritual and social needs of the people.

The developed creativity and labor energy of the people's masses played a decisive role in the successful building of socialism and laying the material and technical foundations for a developed socialist society, which has been undertaken on a broad scale. Based on the systematic application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the enhanced skills of the working people and the proper channeling of their material interests, unsuspected possibilities were discovered for the implementation of the party's plans for a fast and steady increase in material goods and spiritual values. Labor productivity is the factor which accounts for virtually the entire growth of the national income, the dynamics of our socioeconomic development and the reaching of the country's high economic, spiritual and social standard.

Our affiliation with the world socialist system and, above all, friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union, provide tremendous opportunities and powerful incentives for our socioeconomic development. "The intensification and expansion of our participation in the international socialist economic integration with the CEMA member countries, on a bilateral and

multilateral basis and, above all, all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "were and remain the cornerstone of our foreign economic policy."¹ The USSR is actively assisting us not only in the successful solution of individual important economic problems, including that of energy and raw materials, but also in building the decisive, the structure-defining production capacities. It helps fraternally and selflessly in mastering the production of new items and the development of new technologies. It provides a broad market for our industrial and agricultural products. The Soviet Union is assisting us comprehensively in building and developing our national economic complex in its entirety, as a system.

The Soviet Union plays an exceptional role in the development of machine building--the leading industrial sector. The creation of a Bulgarian machine-building industry, with the comprehensive economic and technical aid and assistance of the USSR, developed its exports again through the Soviet market. During the current five-year plan as well the main exports of our machine-building and electronic industries are oriented toward the Soviet Union. They essentially consist of specialized items.

The development and intensification of bilateral integration relations acquired a particularly strong impetus with the formulation and implementation of the 1979 general plan for specialization and cooperation in material production between the USSR and the NRB through 1990. This plan and the dozens of sectorial and intersectorial programs and agreements based on it provide the necessary scale, comprehensiveness and long-term nature of development of specialization in basic material production sectors, organically linking it with scientific and technical cooperation and other forms of integration. All of this contributes to the unparalleled expansion of coordination in the implementation of our structural, investment and scientific and technical policy. It is on this basis that direct ties and cooperation are developed between economic organizations, associations and ministries of the two countries. This strengthens the dynamism, efficiency and comprehensiveness of bilateral integration relations. A broad system of production-economic, scientific and technical, organizational-technical and trade relations is taking shape in the course of the rapprochement and increasingly close integration between the two countries. In Bulgarian terms they account for a significant share of the proportions of determining impact relative to the structure, dynamics and efficiency of the national economic complex. The scale of such ties is eloquently confirmed by the fact that small Bulgaria is in a third or fourth position in Soviet foreign trade.

All of this is not ordinary cooperation. It is a comprehensive cooperation, a unique fraternal friendship, bound and stimulated by the unity of ideas, objectives and aspirations of the two socialist countries. The Bulgarian people will never forget the generous and selfless aid it received from the Soviet Union during the hard postwar years and during all stages of building socialism. "No payment is possible for such aid," Comrade T. Zhivkov said, "for it did not come from any surpluses but from the very bread of a nation which is unequalled in human history in terms of internationalism and spiritual

generosity."² Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the lucky star of our development on the path to socialism and international economic recognition.

The transforming power of the party's April general line is yielding remarkable results above all because it is founded on the main laws governing the building of socialism: the dynamic development of production forces and the production process; profound quality changes in the structure of material output; maximal and creative utilization of the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution in resolving the economic and social problems of the society; active and increasing participation in the international division of labor and, above all, in socialist economic integration; effective utilization of economic levers in controlling and developing the national economy and intensifying the creativity and activeness of working people, specialists and scientific cadres.

In the course of building socialism, the BCP steadily followed the line of dynamic development of the country's economy as a characteristic element of economic strategy. Consistent with the changes and characteristics of each of its individual development stages, it provided increasingly new meanings and shifted the center of gravity to the decisive factors of dynamic economic growth.

The Bulgarian People's Republic undertook to build socialism at a low level of development of production forces. That is why the need for the country's industrialization within the shortest possible time, as substantiated by Georgi Dimitrov at the 5th BCP Congress, faced the party and the people with the solution of complex and responsible problems. The stipulations of the April BCP Central Committee Plenum of giving priority to the development of heavy industry and optimizing the share of the accumulation fund in the national income and the efforts of the party and the working people for their practical implementation enabled us to make successful use of the available national resources for the dynamic and efficient development of the economy within a short period of time, the broad development of modern industrialization, agricultural cooperation and the development of its material and technical base. This created the necessary prerequisites for the accelerated building of socialism.

The strategic task of charting a course of all-round intensification in all areas and activities of social life was substantiated at the 12th Party Congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's post-congressional works. The conversion of the economy to the track of intensive development is taking place through the fullest possible utilization of the three elements of the production process: labor tools, labor objects and labor. This is the foundation for the implementation of one of the main intensification tasks: a decisive drop in production outlays per unit of output and ensuring high competitiveness in the international markets and the ever fuller satisfaction of domestic market requirements.

The high pace of economic growth is a vivid manifestation and confirmation of the fruitfulness of the party's April economic strategy. Whereas in 1956 our country had productive capital totaling slightly more than 12 billion leva--

the decisive part of the national wealth--the value of productive capital rose to 90 billion leva in 1983. It is on this basis that the production of the national income--the most synthesizing indicator of the country's socio-economic development--increased from 2.7 billion leva in 1956 to about 24 billion leva in 1983, i.e., by a factor of more than 8.

Such summed-up data prove that despite difficult international economic conditions our country is maintaining one of the highest rates of economic growth. Few countries in the world have shown such a dynamic progress over a long period of time. This proves the farsightedness of the party's economic policy and the existence of conditions for the normal development of the process of expanded socialist reproduction and the advancement and enhancement of the efficiency of the production and technical structure of the national economy.

Thanks to the tempestuous development of the production forces, previously backward Bulgaria is today economically equal to the advanced countries in the world. This does not apply to individual indicators but to the basic variety of contemporary output. Thus, our country is either on the level of or close to that reached by the advanced countries in per capita production of electric power, ferrous and nonferrous metals, some basic machine-building industry products and chemical raw materials and products. This also applies to the production of fabrics, grain, fruits, vegetables, meat, comestible fats, etc. In some of these basic items the Bulgarian People's Republic is in the leading ranks in the world. It has significant possibilities for foreign trade with an optimal range of goods consistent with our international specialization.

The structural policy we pursue is of great importance and global significance in the successful implementation of the party's April economic strategy. It directly influences the country's possibilities of dynamic and proportional development, efficient participation in the international division of labor, ensuring the expanded reproduction of the national product and the comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the people.

The line of industrialization we followed played a decisive role in the quantitative growth of the country's economic potential and the profound quality changes in the structure of the economy, of industry in particular. Our party paralleled the efforts for rapid industrialization with tireless concern and attention paid to agricultural production and the processing of agricultural commodities by the food industry. This is one of our country's specific features. Despite the highly dynamic development of industry, the share of agricultural production remains considerable as is the share of the food industry in our overall industrial output. The only possible way to assess these structural characteristics would be positive, bearing in mind the great importance of food production in order increasingly to satisfy the population's needs.

The party's main emphasis in its structural policy was the development of machine building and the chemical industry. Throughout the period which followed the April Plenum these two sectors were developed most dynamically

and played a most essential role in the country's overall economic growth. Together, in 1956 the two sectors accounted for about 10 percent of our industrial output; today they account for nearly 40 percent. They are of determining importance in upgrading industrial efficiency and account for the highest contribution to providing resources for expanded socialist reproduction. Machine building ensured the contemporary reproduction of labor tools, which are of decisive importance in the normal development of expanded socialist reproduction. The tempestuous development of machine building helped to enhance the technological standard of our economy and the development until recently of unknown skills and qualifications among our working class. The chemical industry plays an essential role in the development of the raw material base of the country in terms of light and heavy industry and agriculture. It equally made a great contribution to meeting the population's requirements for pharmaceutical, cosmetic, plastic and other items.

Twenty to 30 years ago machine building and the chemical industry accounted for a very insignificant share of the country's exports. Currently they account for more than 65 percent of the country's export output. We can justifiably claim, therefore, that it was mainly these two sectors which allowed our country to take its place in the international economic arena.

The development of the other industrial sectors such as the power industry, metallurgy, the construction materials industry, etc., took place essentially with a view to satisfying the needs for expanded reproduction. The main attention has been focused on improving the technical standard of the output and its quality parameters and upgrading production efficiency.

The party has steadily directed its structural policy toward resolving the strategic contemporary economic problem of reducing the power- and material-intensiveness of public production. This problem emerged powerfully over the past decade on a global scale and shows a developing tendency. In this connection, the faster development of machine building, particularly of its subsectors such as electronics, microelectronics, robotics, instrument making, communications equipment, hydraulics and others, which absorb significantly less energy and materials, played a most essential role.

The line of accelerated development of low-tonnage chemicals, nuclear electric power industry, railroad electrification, grain production and others played a major role in lowering power and material consumption in public production. This enables us to ensure the increasingly efficient utilization of energy and raw material resources in ensuring the dynamic development of the national economy, reducing production outlays, increasingly meeting the needs of the country and raising it to the level of the advanced countries in this respect.

The party's policy of mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and their fullest possible practical utilization was a decisive factor in raising the Bulgarian's People's Republic to the level of the advanced countries and the successful building of a developed socialist society.

Currently the efforts of the country's scientific and technical potential are directed on a priority basis toward the strategic trends of scientific and technical progress and accomplishments which will enable us to lay a material and technical foundation consistent with developed socialism, which will ensure the retooling of our economy with modern equipment and technical facilities.

The 12th Party Congress defined the comprehensive automation of the national economy as the main strategic trend in the development of production forces and the implementation of the course of all-round intensification. In machine building priority was given to electronics, microelectronics, robotics and instrument making as the foundations of comprehensive automation and use of electronics.

The comprehensive solution of the problems of use of electronics and automation is manifested in the production of high-level electronic and automated metal-processing machinery with digital programming and the creation of flexible automated production systems. The application of such systems will enable us to double or triple labor productivity. The quality and technical-economic production parameters will be increased; the nature of labor will be changed radically. Hard physical and unappealing labor will be eliminated and the share of highly skilled productive toil will increase steadily.

The application of scientific and technical achievements based on electronics and automation in transportation and heavy investment machine building is a particularly important factor in the overall updating and retooling of their material and technical base and the updating of our export list with modern competitive items sought on the international market.

Another major trend in the application of scientific and technical achievements is the development and application of the achievements of optical electronics and laser equipment. This enables us to resolve a number of technological problems which cannot be resolved through existing traditional means and methods. It also opens the way to the development and application of qualitative new technologies such as laser burning and tuning of electronic elements, optical transmission and storage of information, electron photography, etc.

Digital integrated communications systems and automated and robotized technological complexes and essentially new control and metrological facilities are being developed on the basis of optical electronics and lasers; the variety of household systems and appliances is significantly changing and expanding and a wide gamut of medical instruments and apparatus for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes is being increasingly applied.

Our country is concentrating its efforts on the accelerated mastery of the production of a number of electronic items and technologies. We are developing and producing modern powerful technological laser sources for material processing, such as cutting, welding, heat treatment, etc., as well as a broad range of low-intensity gas and solid-state lasers for microelectronics, metrology, precise machine building, medicine, etc.

The production of optical fibers and cables is being developed on the basis of domestic raw materials and preparations are being made for the use of fiber optical systems in communications, computers, automation of production processes, etc. Based on the positions already reached by the country in the area of external memory systems, work is continuing on optical memory disks and household optical electronic apparatus.

Under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, biotechnology is becoming increasingly important in resolving vitally important problems. The development of this new scientific sector is acquiring a key significance in resolving problems of radical importance to the present--ensuring the necessary food resources, preserving and strengthening human health, improving the energy balance, protecting the environment, and using new types of materials and technologies. The contemporary level of biotechnology gives us grounds to expect that a number of traditional economic activities will experience profound changes which will amend the aspect and economic nature of entire sectors.

Our country is implementing a program of accelerated development and application of biotechnology in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, agriculture, the food industry, biomachine output and other sectors. Conditions are being created for the progressive restructuring of the economy and for our highly efficient participation in the international division of labor and in enhancing the living standards of the people by making available a wide range of new bioproducts for consumption and treatment. Significant capacities are being set aside for biotechnical production.

Essentially relying on its present achievements, in close cooperation with the USSR, the NRB will continue its efforts to develop technologies and equipment which will provide qualitative structural changes in the production of new and efficient materials consistent with the individual features of our mineral raw materials. Particularly important in this connection is the elaboration of technology for the comprehensive utilization of polymetallic iron and copper ores. This will upgrade the efficiency of metallurgical production. The creation of super-high quality materials with preprogrammed features, new varieties of polymers, superpure substances for electronic purposes, contemporary materials for the manufacturing of high-quality instruments, and high nitrogenized steels with special properties are progressive trends leading to our future economic and scientific and technical progress.

Particular attention is being paid to the elaboration and creation of progressive technological processes in the field of powder metallurgy in the production of hard alloys, materials for superconductors and wear-resistant linings and composition materials based on the composition of metals with non-metals. Efforts will be made to improve processing methods with gas counterpressure and the creation and utilization of technologies for plastic deformation and shaping of parts.

The implementation of the expanded program for the application of new and advanced technologies and equipment with modern technical-economic parameters

is a basic prerequisite in resolving key problems in implementing the course of comprehensive intensification, upgrading production quality and current and future improvements in the sectorial structure of the economy.

Cadres play a decisive role in the fullest possible utilization of contemporary achievements in scientific and technical progress. Our country is already equipped with strong scientific and technical cadre potential which can resolve most adequately the problem of organically linking the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. In 1983 the national economy employed 302,000 specialists with university training, which included 108,000 engineering-technical cadres. The same year the number of rationalizers and inventors totaled 130,000; there were 7,400 inventions and 107,000 rationalizations.

A system for upgrading the skill and professional training of performing cadres has been established and is functioning successfully. Our leading cadres, specialists and workers are upgrading their skills also in the Soviet Union and are preparing for qualitatively new jobs.

Our continuing scientific and technical progress and application of advanced equipment and technology and the way in which our production will be expanding and renovating itself with the production of goods meeting the requirements of the future depend to the greatest extent on the creativity and creative energy of our scientific and technical cadres, specialists and workers.

The party's policy of active participation of the country in the international division of labor and, above all, in socialist economic integration, plays an important role in maintaining high and stable rates of economic growth, shaping the contemporary structure of our national economic complex and establishing our position as an equal economic and trading partner.

Our economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries and participation in CEMA offers favorable conditions for concentrating our efforts and resources in sectors and production facilities in which the NRB is specializing. This enables us to develop optimal capacities, to master the production of goods on a high scientific and technical level, to train cadres within a short time and to develop our production process at an exceptionally high pace and with secure markets. A clear example in this respect is the development of electronics, transport machine building, communications equipment and instrument manufacturing, the production of metal-processing equipment and robotics and other leading machine-building industries in the country. In the chemical industry, our cooperation with the socialist countries has enabled us to reach an extensive increase in the production of soda, petroleum refining, low-tonnage chemistry, the production of plastics and chemical fibers, pharmaceutical and cosmetic items, etc. In the food industry, thanks to the socialist market, we have been able to achieve an exceptionally fast development in the production of cigarettes, wine and canned products. All of these sectors and production facilities are not only the backbone of our economy but the main producers of export items.

As a result of the fast development of material production and profound changes in its structure and active participation in the international division of labor, our country was able to develop its foreign trade exceptionally rapidly and to establish a modern export structure. It is precisely this which is the most accurate proof of Bulgaria as an economic partner.

In 1956 the country's trade totaled about 650 million leva. It consisted mainly of agricultural, food and light industry goods. In 1983 our foreign trade totaled some 24 billion leva. The dynamics of this very substantial economic indicator has been exceptionally high. It proved particularly clearly our progress as a trading partner. In 1956 our foreign trade accounted for under 25 percent of the national income; today it has reached 100 percent. This is the most eloquent proof of the high scale reached by our foreign economic relations and high level of development attained by our country.

An equally great confirmation of our economic level is the structure of our foreign trade and our exports. In 1983 our export structure was as follows: machines and equipment, 51 percent; raw and other materials, 22 percent; consumer goods, 27 percent. In the past the last group accounted were virtually the entire export structure. As we may see, the substantial feature now is that our country is exporting above all machines and equipment, thus actively participating in the development of the material and technical base of other countries. Furthermore, in recent years the share of electronics, robotics, communications equipment and instrument making, i.e., items of decisive importance in production automation and control as the most essential trend in the development of the material and technical base of contemporary society, has drastically increased in recent years and changed the structure of our machine exports. Our economy, our machine-building industry above all, are actively and increasingly participating in this process.

The overall structural characteristic of our foreign economic relations is of particular importance in terms of the dynamics and stability of our development. In 1983 78 percent of our trade was with the socialist countries, including 57 percent with the Soviet Union alone; the developed capitalist countries accounted for 12 percent and the developing countries 10 percent. Our main ties with the socialist countries offer a very promising future for development and conditions for shaping an efficient economic structure. These relations enable us to balance our trade, maintain stable payment balances and develop foreign trade relations on a mutually profitable basis with all countries throughout the world. This is one of the secrets of the successes achieved by our economy in recent years despite the complex and adverse situation which has prevailed in world trade.

After the April Plenum our party paid serious attention to the problem of the more efficient utilization of economic levers and conditions as a particularly important factor in the dynamic development of the national economy and foreign economic activities, the extensive application of the achievements of science and technical progress and the increasingly energetic and creative participation and labor collectives, workers and specialists in production and management. Particular substantial results were achieved in this respect

with the consistent practical utilization of the economic approach developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Distribution relations, which are of major importance in developing the initiative and possibilities of labor collectives and economic managements in production development and increased profitability, were improved in accordance with the stipulations of this approach. This is being achieved through the principle that each economic organization must procure its own financial resources for expanded reproduction, modernization and enterprise development. The formation of the wage fund of the labor collective has been made consistent with the growth of labor productivity, the results of the utilization of material resources and production marketing. This enhanced the role of material incentive and strengthened the feeling and responsibility of the labor collective as the manager of socialist property.

The use of the laws of socialist commodity-monetary relations creates favorable conditions for the development of expanded socialist reproduction. The income of the working people is rising and incentives are created to increase production and raise the level of labor productivity. At the same time, a higher income leads to larger purchases, i.e., the market expands. It is this decisive position which encourages economic growth. The fuller coverage of the population's income with commodities and services gives real power to material incentives. That is precisely why the party has always paid particular attention to ensuring a balance between population income and available stocks on the market. Under such circumstances the party's main concern--concern for the person--is achieved systematically and fully.

The increasingly flexible utilization of taxes, prices, credits and other levers in the management of economic processes helps to create better conditions and prerequisites for applying the achievements of science and technical progress and restructuring production with a view to its steady expansion and consistency with the requirements of the domestic and international markets and its improved quality and efficiency.

The 12th BCP Congress, the National Party Conference on Problems of Production Quality and the Works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress defined the main ways and approaches to the further development of the material and technical foundations of the developed socialist society and the establishment and broadening of the international economic relations and reputation of our country under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. The concentrating of our efforts on mastering new scientific and technological positions and, on this basis, the development of the production process, offer real prerequisites for maintaining a stable rate of economic growth and expanding our participation in the international division of labor. Our assurance in this connection is also based on the agreements which were reached at the summit economic conference of CEMA members, which took place in Moscow in June 1984. The activities in which the party and the people are currently engaged for drastically improving production quality will be a decisive prerequisite in the development of our foreign trade and the strengthening of our foreign trade positions in the various world markets. This will be another vivid confirmation of the creative and fruitful nature of the April party line in the domestic and foreign economic activities of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Dvanadesetiyat Kongres na BKP i po-Natatushnoto Izgrazhdane na Zreliya Sotsializum. Problemi, Zadachi, Podkhodi" [The 12th BCP Congress and the Further Development of Mature Socialism. Problems, Tasks, Approaches], Sofia, 1982, p 52.
2. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 22 December 1982.

Women and Socialist Revolution

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 104-112

[Article by Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the KDBZh [Democratic Bulgarian Women's Committee]]

[Text] As we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution we look back at the distance we have covered from a number of aspects. Under the leadership of the BCP and within a short historical period our industrious and freedom-loving people radically changed Bulgaria's face. We measure our successes and accomplishments through the high and stable rates at which our national income has grown, the extent of the ideological-political and cultural enhancement of our people, the development of the political system and the levels of education and science, which have become the right and the benefit of the socialist individual.

We also gauge the growth of the last four constructive decades with the policy of the party and the state toward women, the family and the growing generation and the results of this policy in terms of the gains achieved by the Bulgarian women.

Historically, the roots and means of resolving the "women's problem" have been intertwined with the complex historical destinies of the Bulgarian people in the long and hard road which led to the appearance and development of the socialist women's movement in Bulgaria, the 70th anniversary of which falls this year.

The revolutionary women's movement owes a great deal to the Blagoev-Dimitrov communist party, which, from the very beginning of its establishment, took Marxist positions in its concepts of the development of the women's socialist movement. D. Blagoev emphasized as early as 1891 that the problem of women's equality is inseparably related to that of the economic equality of mankind. He pointed out that education, class awareness, full rights, participation in the ideological struggle and in overall social activities are means of achieving the comprehensive development of women. "The importance of proletarian women in the proletarian cause of liberation is exceptionally great," Dimitur Blagoev wrote, "for without the participation of women it would not be the cause of liberation of the entire proletarian class."

At its constituent congress itself, below the legendary Buzludzha peak, the communist party decreed that the radical solution of the women's problem was

an inseparable part of its political program, for the proletariat cannot gain true freedom for the people and build a socialist society without the conscious, purposeful and dedicated participation of women in this historical cause. The first steps of the socialist women's movement are linked to the bright and precious names of women party leaders who dedicatedly worked for the triumph of the ideas of communism: Vela Blagoeva, Rayna Kandeve, Lyuba Ivoshevich, Tina Kirkova and many others.

The Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind. The first state of workers and peasants in the world became the example of the struggle waged by the proletariat in many countries. For the first time the "women's problem" found its most humane solution. The interest of the Bulgarian women in the role and position of women in the Soviet Union and their participation in the revolution and in building socialism increased. "The Russian women are short of food and clothing. However, they are supporting the Soviet system with all their strength," Ana Maymunkova wrote in the newspaper RAVENSTVO (1919). "They have realized that this shortage of food and clothing is not the result of the Soviet system but the blockade and the wars which the capitalist countries are waging against them." Millions of despairing and burdened women in the world, Bulgarian women included, realized that true women's equality can be gained only as a result of radical changes in the socioeconomic system, and the Bulgarian women made their brave and worthy contribution to this sacred cause.

In the first people's antifascist uprising in the world, in 1923, in which the victory and example of the October Socialist Revolution were reflected, thousands of daring sons and daughters of the people stood under the red flags. Side by side with their fathers, brothers and husbands, the women engaged in the first decisive battle with fascism. They carried passwords, acted as couriers among the detachments, sewed the flags, treated and concealed the wounded and participated in the battles. The living participants of this heroic epic carried and transmitted through the years this revolutionary behest to their children and grandchildren in order to rekindle their example and exploits during the apogee of the antifascist 1941-1944 resistance.

Klara Zetkin, the noted personality in the international communist worker and women's movement, was greatly impressed by the work of the BCP among women. She was in close touch with its leaders--Georgi Dimitrov, Georgi Kirkov, Vela Blagoeva, Tina Kirkova, and Ana Maymunkova. At the 4th Regular Comintern Congress, which was held in Moscow in 1922, she spoke on the work of the communist parties among women and set the BCP activities in organizing women as an example for the other communist parties: "The BCP," Zetkin said, "is pointing the way which we must follow in order to develop organizational support among the women's masses--women's associations of sympathizers--as a training school for joining the communist party and as organizational support centers for attracting the women's masses in all party actions."

The process of reinforcing and strengthening the ranks after the severe defeats suffered by the party during the September uprising and the bloody events of 1925 was also a period of even more persistent and intensified work among women.

During the upsurge of the worker's movement during the 1930s and the difficult antifascist struggle of 1941-1944 the toiling women and the most progressive university students and members of the intelligentsia were in the leading ranks.

The Bulgarian women were everywhere--in the ranks of the partisan units and combat groups of partisan supporters and assistants and at clandestine meetings and in safe houses. Thousands of antifascists, a high percentage of whom were women and girls, lost their lives in the fierce battles against fascism. The names of Yordanka Nikolova, Lilyana Dimitrova, Vela Peeva, Mara Petlyakova, Ana Ventura, Violeta Yakova and many others will be remembered by the future generations for their unparalleled heroism.

Many of the women guerrillas joined the ranks of the Bulgarian People's Army, went to the front as volunteers and, together with the men, heroically fought for the total defeat of fascism. All in all, 4,218 women participated in the two stages of the war. Many of them heroically died at the dawn of the new Bulgarian day.

From the very first days of the people's regime women were granted civil and political rights for which generations had struggled and dreamed. Equality between men and women was proclaimed with the programmatic declaration of the Fatherland Front of 14 September and the Ordinance-Law of 16 October 1944. Subsequently this was raised to a constitutional principle with the Dimitrov 1947 Constitution. Sixteen women became people's representatives at the first freely elected national assembly.

Women enthusiastically joined the building of the new life in their free and renovated fatherland. They were in the leading ranks of the brigade movement, in the detachments of the people's militia and in the first activities of the auxiliary organizations. They responded with readiness and understanding to the party's appeal for rebuilding the national economy dislocated by the war and for waging a nationwide struggle for the elimination of illiteracy. They quickly mastered new skills. They became initiators and inspirers of a true campaign for knowledge. They assumed a tremendous share of the work in the collectivization of agriculture and its development on an industrial basis.

Under the new conditions as well work among women remained one of the main tasks of the party. Immediately after 9 September the Central Women's Commission was created under the National Committee of the Fatherland Front; the Bulgarian People's Women's Union (BNZhS) was established in 1945. That same year representatives of the BNZhS participated in the organization of the International Democratic Women's Federation (MDFZh) in Paris. To this day the KDBZh has remained one of the most active members of the MDFZh with which 120 countries are affiliated.

The April party course, which was decisive for the upsurge of socialism, was also crucial in terms of the fate of women in our society. By restoring and creatively enriching our party's traditions under the new socioeconomic conditions, the April BCP Central Committee Plenum inaugurated a new stage in

work among women and in the development of the women's movement, which is an inseparable part of the struggle for the victory and assertion of the new social system. It was precisely Comrade Todor Zhivkov who deserves historical credit for substantiating the need for and earmarking the ways and mechanisms leading to a decisive improvement and advancement of work among women in accordance with the conditions and requirements of the contemporary stage and the country's long-term development.

The accelerated development of the material and technical base of socialist society created real prerequisites for the mass participation of Bulgarian women in public production. The party's social policy, aimed at improving the working and living conditions of women, of those with children in particular, was broadened and enriched.

The July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum resolved that a committee and councils of Bulgarian women were to be established within the system of the Fatherland Front National Council, with their specific domestic and international functions and tasks. The thus-established women's movement in our country directed its efforts toward the implementation of the BCP policy and its conversion into the thoughts and actions of the entire society.

Our entire legislation, the Labor Code, the Family Code and others guarantee the rights of women in the socialist society, rights which are becoming the subject of increasingly progressive practical solutions at each stage in our development.

One of the main objectives of the socialist society is the elimination of the socioeconomic and political inequality between men and women. However, the victory of the revolution and the legislative acts which followed it were not sufficient by themselves. They had to surmount encrustations in the mind. We had to create the purposefully necessary material conditions and take into consideration comprehensive factors contributory to the solution of this important problem.

In order to accelerate this complex legitimate process, the BCP Central Politburo passed a special resolution on further enhancing the role of women in building a developed socialist society (6 March 1973).

The stipulations contained in this resolution were the result of a profound scientific study of the processes and phenomena in our society and the structures and mechanisms which do and could influence changes in these processes and are the foundations of the formulation and implementation of the policy of the party and the state in such matters.

The result of scientific studies in the areas of economics, law, demography and sociology and a number of medical-biological studies, etc., were used in drafting the materials for the resolution. Particularly important were the results of the first and broadest possible sociological survey conducted in the country on "The Woman in the Economic, Social and Cultural Life and the Family," which took place in 1969. Extensive information was gathered and studied on the positive changes and problems triggered by the mass participation of women in public production, sociopolitical life and management and

the place and role of women in the family and the need to provide guidance and management of such processes.

A brief definition of the significance of the 6 March 1973 BCP Central Committee Politburo decision is that it is an overall scientific program aimed at resolving the basic problems on a differentiated and comprehensive basis for combining the functions of women in all fields of life and the family in the course of building a developed socialist society.

With a view to the further development and better coordination of scientific research in this area, a problem commission--"Women Under the Conditions of a Developed Socialist Society"--was created under the presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences on the suggestion of the KBZh in 1970. So far the work of this commission has yielded good results. Its materials have been published in four collections.

We can properly evaluate the distance covered by the generation of brave daughters of the people, starting with the first builders of socialist Bulgaria to the contemporary Bulgarian woman with her highly responsible position and role in all fields of life and real successes and accomplishments she has achieved over the past 40 constructive years.

Everything created by our people during that period of intensive creative development of the socialist society under BCP leadership enables us to see the contribution of the 9 September Socialist Revolution to women and the women's contribution to the building of socialism.

The progress made by women in socialist Bulgaria as a result of the consistent and highly humane policy of the BCP toward women, children and families may be defined in several main areas.

The guaranteed right to work and to equal opportunity for men and women in their profession and growth is among the most significant accomplishments of the socialist revolution. Today women account for 48.9 percent of the work force employed in the national economy. Eighty-six of 100 women in the active age group are students or workers. We could hardly imagine today education, health care, art, culture and commerce without the participation of specialist women. In material production--along with the textile, clothing and food industries, where women account respectively for 74.1, 87.3 and 54.1 percent of the labor force--a large number of women may be found in many modern industries such as electronics (52.4 percent), the chemical industry (48.6 percent), etc. In 1957 women accounted for no more than 30.5 percent of the overall number of workers and employees compared to 44.9 percent today.¹

What this actually means is that real socialism is also the offspring of millions of caring and dexterous women's hands. There is a long list of woman heroes of socialist labor, leaders and innovators, noted scientists, workers in the arts, culture and sports who have brought fame to their homeland far beyond its borders. Between 1951 and 1982 143 women were awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor; 977 were awarded the title of Mother-Heroine, etc.

All in all, 100,216 women have been awarded orders and medals within that time.

By providing equal opportunities and conditions for acquiring an education and skills to both men and women, the socialist society brought about radical changes in the educational and professional structure of the working people and opened extensive opportunities for the development of women's creative capabilities. Half of the students in all types of schools are girls and women. More than half of the specialists with university and secondary specialized training are women. Women account for 34.8 percent of all engineers, 51.9 percent of physicians, 40.2 percent of zootechnicians, 41.3 percent of agronomists, 48.7 percent of economists, 67.4 percent of specialists in education, etc.

Women's participation in science is particularly indicative. This was an area inaccessible to women before 9 September 1944. Today women account for 39.0 percent of the total number of scientific workers. A comparison between 1972 and 1982 of the share of women scientific workers shows a 10 percent increase.²

In socialist Bulgaria women are the most active participants in the overall sociopolitical life and management of the country. They account for 22.7 percent of leading cadres in the national economy, 21.7 percent of the people's representatives, and 37.0 percent of members of people's councils. There are women members of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and chairmen and deputy chairmen of executive committees, etc. In four decades women have acquired education and experience and were able to prove worthy and equal participants in social management.

The number and participation of women in the activities of mass public-political organizations and creative unions is increasing as well.³ Many leading positions on different levels within these organizations are held by women.

In socialist Bulgaria great attention is being paid to concern for the family and, particularly, for working mothers. During these years the social gains of the working people have been steadily increasing and broadening. In accordance with the growing opportunities of society, with every passing year the funds allocated by the state to encourage the birth rate and health care of children and mothers, the building of children's institutions, the support of student cafeterias, social security, etc., have been increasing.

The BCP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, Fatherland Front National Council and Komsomol Central Committee decree on the further implementation of the December program for upgrading the living standards of the people in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress was another gain in the field of social policy, passed on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution. This is yet another proof of the fact that concern for the people is the main objective of the socialist society and the

most important matter of the communist party and the socialist state. We are particularly pleased and excited by the stipulations aimed at strengthening the family and encouraging the birth rate and enhancing the responsibility of parents in raising and educating their children, providing richer material incentives for working mothers and young families and offering broader opportunities for professional realization. This is a manifestation of the unity between the stable rates of development of our socialist economy and the improvement and expansion of social policy. The invariable purpose of this policy is to provide increasingly better conditions for the more suitable and successful combination of women's professional aspirations and active participation in sociopolitical life with motherhood and concern for raising and educating the growing generation. The decree is aimed at ensuring the more equitable and purposeful distribution of public consumption funds and a more equitable payment of wages based on the quantity and quality of the invested labor. It is a manifestation of the objective changes in the nature and distribution of labor and related changes in intrafamily relations and shared responsibilities of the spouses and relations among the three generations.

The 12th BCP Congress, which highly rated the accomplishments of our people in building a developed socialist society, called for gradual conversion to comprehensive intensification in all realms of the national economy under the conditions of the application of the economic approach and its mechanism. These problems were discussed at the National Party Conference on Quality and most tightly related to the struggle for high quality of output and high quality and efficiency in all activities, without which our successful comprehensive intensive development would be difficult.

In his lectures to the students and teachers at the AONSU, Comrade Todor Zhivkov most urgently formulated some vitally important problems which must be resolved by the party and the people, including problems caused by the differentiated policy of the party concerning women and families.

This applies, above all, to the question of vocational guidance, education and professional skills of girls and women. The pace of the scientific and technical revolution and the development of production forces, on the one hand, and the need for more time required for gaining an education and mastering specific professional skills and abilities, on the other, require the search for more efficient and flexible means of obtaining professional training, which is of prime importance in terms of the quality of the manpower. This means that mothers will receive an increasingly longer-paid and unpaid leave for pregnancy and birth, which take them away from the training process or their jobs for long periods of time. Bearing in mind the fact that a smaller number of young people will engage in socially useful labor in the future as well, the problem of finding new means of maintaining and upgrading the skills of women during and after long maternity leave is particularly urgent.

Many of these problems will be resolved at the proper time with the introduction of the new educational system, the organization of the system of post-graduate training and other methods used in enhancing education and skills on a full-time or on-the-job basis.

In the course of the development of our socialist economy a great deal was accomplished to improve the working and health care of the workers. This, however, does not mean that all problems have been resolved. Under contemporary conditions even greater efforts must be made to make technological indicators consistent with labor conditions. Bearing in mind the permanent function of women as mothers, we must organize the working environment even more accurately, and most strictly observe technological and labor discipline. This is extremely necessary in preserving the reproduction and maternity functions of women. The periodical revision and updating of lists of activities and jobs unsuitable for women alone cannot resolve major problems such as these. Comrade Todor Zhivkov particularly emphasized these problems at the party conference on drafting the new Labor Code.

Concern for the family and educational work with the contemporary family is of particular importance, in the third place, in the process of building a mature socialist society. All social problems are refracted and reflected in the family in specific ways. The family is the first school in patriotism. It shapes the initial labor skills, the attitude toward labor, the attitude toward comradeship and mutual aid and the feeling of responsibility. The civic and political awareness with which tomorrow's new member of socialist Bulgaria will cross the threshold separating the family from society is of particular importance.

The fact that women are significantly more busy with concerns for the children and the family and household chores presents a number of trials and increases their load. This is one of the serious problems. The steps aimed at the further development of social services, expanding the network of children's institutions, etc., will be of great assistance in shortening the time which women must spend with household chores and will contribute to the improvement of interfamily relationships.

The party pays great attention to the ways and means through which women can acquire better pedagogical knowledge in terms of improving interfamily relations. The role and significance of the mass sociopolitical organizations, such as the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Bulgarian women's movement, and others, in developing and improving ideological and educational work will be enhanced.

Each new and higher stage in the development of the country and each new success forces us to consider more critically and more exigently our work and compare results and successes with the criteria of our time and the imperatives of the future. Our own selves and our attitude toward labor and the organization of the family environment and the household offer great opportunities for our further development.

In the alarming period in which we live every woman in socialist Bulgaria understands and knows that to us the struggle for peace means dedicated and daring labor, highly conscientious and responsible for the sake of our well-being and of our and future generations and for the sake of life.

The Bulgarian women support fully and without reservation the peaceable foreign policy of the BCP and the proposals submitted by the USSR and the

members of the socialist community for putting an end to the arms race and achieving lasting peace on earth. History teaches us that grave social problems can be resolved only under conditions of peace and understanding. Peace is the most important prerequisite for women's progress. In the difficult and exceptionally stressed international situation in which the most reactionary imperialist circles are threatening mankind with the danger of an annihilating nuclear catastrophe, the committee and councils of the Bulgarian Women's Movement are concentrating their international activities on expanding and intensifying their ties and cooperation with women's organizations and movements in the socialist countries and, above all, the Committee of Soviet Women, the MDFZh and women and their organizations in countries struggling for national independence, and with all democratic and progressive forces on earth.

In 1983 the committee and the councils of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, together with other social organizations, collected 2.5 million signatures for peace under the appeal of the World Congress of Women, which was held in Prague. More than 20,000 meetings for peace were held. In the autumn of 1983, on the initiative of the Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women a peace march of women from the Balkan and Danube countries and Cyprus was sponsored. It included members of four international organizations and was held under the slogan of "For Nuclear-Free Balkans and Nuclear-Free Europe." The participants in the march drafted an appeal to the United Nations secretary general as well.

The second border meeting of representatives of Bulgarian and Greek women was held on 12 and 13 May 1984 on the initiative of the KDBZh and the Greek Women's Federation, and the participation of representatives of mass public organizations in Bulgaria and other women's organizations and movements in Greece. It was held under the slogan "For Nuclear-Free Balkans and Nuclear-Free Europe" and "For Peace and Good Neighborly Relations." The participants in the meeting held enthusiastic meetings in Sandanski (Bulgaria) and Seres (Greece) and adopted an appeal to women in the Balkan countries.

Numerous and various initiatives are being launched throughout the country by women in labor collectives and mass public organizations, by individual personalities, etc.

The KDBZh supports the noble efforts of the MDFZh in promoting unity among progressive women's organizations and movements in the world in the struggle for peace and social progress. Our actions are part of the common efforts of antiwar forces. The antiwar front is a reality. It is a manifestation of the human conscience which must rescue the world and mankind from a threatening thermonuclear catastrophe. As in the past, the Bulgarian women will continue to stand guard in their studies, labor, home and family, they will stand guard for peace everywhere, wherever competition with time is necessary. We know that our own future and that of future generations depends on our own efforts.

Our party's stipulations under the conditions of improving the political system and the further development of socialist democracy offer increasing opportunities for the development of the creative initiative of the working

people. They offer increasing opportunities for the active participation of women in overall sociopolitical life and the administration of the state. Our experience and that of the other socialist countries has proved that socialist society alone can provide and guarantee true equality for women and to ensure increasingly better conditions for combining motherhood with professional aspirations and high labor and social activeness.

The Bulgarian women are celebrating the 40th anniversary of 9 September 1944 in an atmosphere of nationwide labor and political upsurge, and an awareness of past worthy accomplishments and deep faith in the future of socialist Bulgaria and a feeling of high responsibility to the party, which is the leader and inspirer. They are aware of the fact that they are the true owners of their home and of our great common home--our socialist homeland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Today women account for 48.3 percent of the industrial labor force, 20.8 percent in construction, 48.8 percent in agriculture, 45.9 percent in the forestry economy, 59.8 percent in communications, 63.1 percent in trade, material and technical procurements and purchasing, 74.9 percent in health care, social insurance and physical culture, etc.
2. Women account for 12.2 percent of all university professors, 22.2 percent of docents, 27.0 percent of senior scientific associates, 45.7 percent of scientific associates, 41.5 percent of assistants, and 62.0 percent of all teachers. They account for 10.9 percent of people holding doctorates and 29.7 percent of scientific candidates.
3. Today women account for 49.8 percent of the members of the Komsomol, 49.7 percent of the Fatherland Front, 48.9 percent of the Bulgarian trade unions, 33.8 percent of the Union of Scientific Workers, 9.5 percent of the Writers' Union, 71.3 percent of the Teachers' Union, 21.3 percent of the Union of Journalists, 21.3 percent of the Union of Composers, 30.3 percent of the Painters' Union, 48.6 percent of the Actors' Union and 39.0 percent of the members of scientific and technical unions.

Socialist Cultural Revolution

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 113-128

[Article by Lyubomir Pavlov, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture]

[Text] Revolution and culture are inseparable. The history of world culture has repeatedly proved that the tremendous majority of honest, democratic and progressive creative workers have always been on the side of social progress and humanism and on the side of the revolution--against anything regressive, antihuman and reactionary. The victory of the socialist revolution is preceded by the appearance and development of socialist culture under bourgeois domination. Lenin brilliantly realized not only the historical truth of the

two cultures in bourgeois society and the dependence of the creative worker on society and the indivisibility of culture from general party work and the cause of the whole people, but also the path of cultural development in the socialist society.

Taking into consideration the entire complexity and characteristics of the socialist cultural revolution in the various countries, one could emphasize that here as well the application of the general laws and principles of Marxist-Leninist politics and aesthetics is particularly important: the establishment of the political power of the working class and the working people under the leadership of the communist party, the abolishment of fascist and other reactionary state-military, ideological and social organs and institutions, public ownership of productive capital, existence of a democratic intelligentsia and pursuit of a clear Marxist-Leninist policy of the communist party in the cultural field as well.

At the same time, taking the national, democratic, progressive and proletarian cultural traditions and experience into consideration is of exceptional importance, as are the existence of a more or less socialist-oriented intelligentsia and culture, the existence of a clear program for the socialist reconstruction of the country on the basis of the general principles and laws yet according to the national characteristics, traditions and specifics of the country, and the principle-minded and skillful combination of the international and the national factors in all social areas and activities and at each stage of the socialist reconstruction without allowing nationalism or national nihilism.

From the day of its creation of a revolutionary Marxist party and to the present, as confirmed in the documents of party congresses and conferences, the resolutions of the party's leadership and the works of its first leaders Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov and Todor Zhivkov, and in the studies and works of an increasingly larger circle of noted scientists and creative workers, the BCP has always pursued an active cultural policy. The principal, main theoretical, ideological and political features and characteristics of the BCP in its various periods fully characterize the theoretical and practical activities of the party in the area of artistic culture as well.

I

One of the decisive prerequisites for the successful implementation of the socialist cultural revolution in Bulgaria is the Marxist-Leninist nature of decades of Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions and the experience of the BCP.

Marxism has existed as a doctrine for slightly over a century. This has been a century of tremendous progressive social changes, a century of tireless and irrepressible progress of Marxism-Leninism, a century of the triumph of communist ideas, and a century of increasing implementation of the idea of scientific communism according to which "the free development of everyone is a prerequisite for the free development of all."¹ Marx wrote that in the way that philosophy finds in the proletariat its material weapon, the proletariat

finds in philosophy its spiritual weapon.² Marx and Engels convincingly proved that the bourgeoisie is the enemy of culture and that wherever it has ruled it has destroyed all feudal, patriarchal and idyllic relations. As early as their Communist Party Manifesto they wrote that "the bourgeoisie removed the sacred halo of all types of activities previously considered honorable and revered. It made the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet and the man of science its paid hired labor."³

Along with the Leninist stage in Marxist philosophy as a whole, the Leninist theory of reflection is of the most direct scientific-theoretical, methodological and immediate directing significance in the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of culture, Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, literature and art. The significance of this contribution to aesthetics is invaluable, for it is the base of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the artistic and always subjective (but not subjectivistic!) reflection and recreation of reality.

V. I. Lenin's stipulation that in its history philosophy has always been party-oriented and that it is impossible for the creative worker to live within society yet to be independent of society is an axiomatic, an elementary truth in Marxist-Leninist aesthetics. Lenin considered literature and artistic creativity part of the overall party work and of the cause of the whole people. Lenin made a major contribution to Marxist philosophy of culture with the development of an integral theory of the class-party approach to literature and art, the two cultures in bourgeois society, the party-mindedness of literature and art, the artistic legacy, traditions and innovation, the new proletarian culture and the socialist cultural revolution.

Lenin deserves historical credit for the elaboration of the problem of the party's leadership of artistic culture (in its entire principle-mindedness and consistency, complexity and specifics) and the true creative freedom (the dependence and responsibility of the creative worker to society and the concern and attention paid to his talent and his individual manifestations). It was none other than Lenin who proclaimed that literature and art are the least subject to mechanical equalization and leveling or to the rule of the majority over the minority.

No broader formulation of the attitude toward cultural values and philosophy and the moral and cultural aspect of the communist may be found outside Lenin's stipulation that one can become a communist only by enriching one's memory with the knowledge of the entire wealth developed by mankind.⁴

The fact that art belongs to the people and that it must be linked profoundly with the working people, to be understood and loved by them and to unify their feelings, thoughts and will and to mobilize them is a basic principle of Marxist-Leninist culture. It must awaken the artist in the working person and to develop him. The complexity of the problem of true nationality lies in the creation of works which reflect the life of the people, which are understood by the people and, at the same time, which enhance the people's aesthetic culture and elevate it ideologically and artistically.

The Leninist stage of aesthetics and the development of socialist art are characterized by the appearance and development of the art of socialist realism as artistic practice and theory, as a scientific summation of the basic characteristics and inexhaustible creative possibilities of socialist realism as a type of artistic summation, and as a variety of styles in the recreation of reality as its main, guiding and determining processes and trends and entire complexity, contradictoriness and variety.

The Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions and experience of the BCP in the field of artistic culture are characterized by the consistent and creative application of basic Marxist-Leninist principles. We turn to these traditions not as a canned legacy in party cultural theory and practice but because the Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions and experience are alive through their Marxist-Leninist theoretical and ideological-aesthetic nature. That is precisely why we need them both domestically and internationally.

Blagoev's theoretical and critical activities were characterized by the conceptual and mobilizing strength of the socialist ideal and his class approach to artistic creativity. However, he did not limit himself merely to emphasizing the existence of the two cultures in Bulgarian national culture at that time, thus closely resembling Lenin's theory, but went on to say that "...If such is the case, it is obvious that every artist, regardless of his wishes, introduces in his works the thoughts, ideas and feelings of the environment, the class and the party to which he belongs. This is inevitable."⁵ Here again Blagoev anticipates Marxist aesthetic thinking and comes very close to Lenin.

Blagoev outstripped Plekhanov not only ideologically, organizationally and politically but from the philosophical and aesthetic viewpoints as well, coming very close to the future stipulations and theories expressed by Lenin without, however, attaining Lenin's stage in philosophy and aesthetics. Blagoev was one of the most noted students and continuators of Marx and Engels, such as Mehring, Lafargue, Labriola and Plekhanov. Toward the end of his life he emphasized that it was Lenin who had accomplished the most in the development, enrichment and implementation of Marxism.

Blagoev was the first person in our country to formulate and organize on a proper Marxist basis the party's policy toward the cultural heritage, emphasizing that "society will not reject in the future most of the accomplishments of the capitalist order; nor will it reject the accomplishments in the arts, which today are accessible only to a small part of it."⁶ As a highly erudite esthete, Blagoev was among the most active and competent Bulgarian literary critics of the turn of the 20th century.

The uncompromising struggle which he waged against bourgeois ideology was logically expanded by his rejection of the theory and practice of modernism in art as part and manifestation of it.

One of Blagoev's great merits is his theoretical substantiation of and struggle for the triumph of the socialist ideal and his faith that a socialist literature is developing in our country as well and that the future belongs

to it. He was profoundly convinced that socialism alone "opens wide horizons for fruitful and useful literary activities."

Blagoev's traditions in the elaboration of Marxist aesthetics and literary criticism were enriched and developed in subsequent decades through Lenin's philosophical and aesthetic formulations and principles and the experience of socialist-realistic literature and art in Bulgaria.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution became a turning point in world history in all areas. It awakened the multimillion-strong working people to historical and revolutionary creativity. The BCP enthusiastically welcomed and fully adopted the victory of the first socialist revolution and the principles of Leninism. In its 1919 program declaration and 1923 party program the BCP included the theoretical stipulations and practical tasks of lasting significance in the field of culture, consistent with the 1971 BCP program. This included the "all-round harmonious, spiritual and physical development of the individual," and the training of the young generation "through labor training for participation in the process of production and the free use of science, art and the benefits of culture."

All historical epochs need give birth to and shape their personalities who participate in social progress. Georgi Dimitrov is one of the most outstanding leaders, theoreticians and creators of the Leninist type in the global communist movement of the 20th century. He was among the first creatively to undertake the elaboration of the Leninist idea of the united front in accordance with the historical conditions.

In one of G. Dimitrov's outstanding contributions to the development of BCP cultural policy was his remarkable article "What Way To Choose?" which came out in the newspaper ARTIST on 4 June 1923 (vol 7, pp 136-140). We sense in the article the enthusiasm of the Communist Manifesto and the Party Organization and Party Literature. It is a true model of philosophical-political analysis of the situation in the country and the status of creative workers and a fine understanding of the specifics of creative toil.

G. Dimitrov's behavior at the Leipzig trial and his report to the 7th Comintern Congress and activities as Comintern secretary general are of particularly important ideological and topical political and cultural significance. Georgi Dimitrov proved that fascism and culture are incompatible and that the proletariat alone can free culture from the chains of decaying monopoly capital and barbaric fascism. He wrote actively and fruitfully on Maksim Gorkiy, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Marcel Cachin, Martin Andersen-Nexo and dozens and hundreds of noted cultural workers.

The literature and art of socialist realism extensively developed during the 1920s and 1930s.

A broad discussion took place in the party press during the 1930s on the Leninizing of the literary front and mastering by artistic literature the literary theory and critique of Leninist aesthetic principles. The complex yet ascending path of this restructuring was undertaken right after the victory

of the October Revolution, went through the 1st BCP Congress and the Comintern congresses and the September 1923 uprising and continued in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Union of Labor-Fighting Writers, the Society of New Painters, and organizations of progressive composers, actors, and so on, were established at the beginning of the 1930s in Bulgaria in order to unify the efforts of all progressive creative workers in the development of a new, socialist-realistic literature and art. These organizations were one of the forms of party work with the intelligentsia and for ensuring the influence of the progressive creative workers on the country's overall social and cultural life and really linking within a single entity Marxist-Leninist ideology with socialist art and the new artistic values needed for and shaping the future society.

II

The victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a socialist cultural revolution in the country. Here again Georgi Dimitrov was Lenin's great student and a creator, theoretician and organizer of the Leninist cultural revolution under the conditions of the new Fatherland Front Bulgaria.

If we draw a parallel we could claim that in the way the 9 September Socialist Revolution was a repetition of the principles of the Great October Revolution in its essential and main features, the implementation of the socialist cultural revolution in Bulgaria was an essential and basic repetition of the Leninist socialist cultural revolution in the Soviet Union. However, we would be equally justified in extending this idea with the statement that in the way that the 9 September Socialist Revolution was a Bulgarian socialist revolution, which won after decades of heroic struggles and the extensive armed resistance of the working people, headed by the BCP, against fascism and with the decisive help of the Soviet army and the fraternal Soviet people, the Bulgarian socialist cultural revolution was Bulgarian in terms of its historical democratic, progressive and proletarian cultural traditions, national feature and characteristics, and creative Marxist-Leninist approach in its implementation during the time of Georgi Dimitrov and throughout the entire April period.

Thanks to the 50 years of experience and the Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions, the good knowledge and creative utilization of the experience of the CPSU in the field of culture and of Soviet literature and art and thanks to the existence of a party antifascist and democratic people's intelligentsia and artistic culture, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, the BCP was able to involve quickly and relatively painlessly the entire intelligentsia with the ideas and cause of the revolution.

G. Dimitrov's stipulation that art is a powerful spiritual and cultural factor in the development of all creative forces of our people for the building and advancement of the young people's republic is of very important theoretical, political and methodological significance.

Georgi Dimitrov steadily emphasized the class-party and antifascist nature of the new culture which must be created in Bulgaria. He steadily pointed as an example and source of inspiration to revolutionary traditions left by Botev and Smirnenski and Soviet literature and art. At the same time, he considered that a new socialist art was possible only as the extension of the democratic traditions of Bulgarian culture and for the sake of the national interests of the working people and the growing generations.

Georgi Dimitrov set the example of proper attitude toward problems of international cultural cooperation. He emphasized that there are no big or small nations in the field of culture in terms of capability. There are neither more valuable nor less valuable nations. However small it may be, a nation could make a contribution to the general treasury of culture.

G. Dimitrov's main attention was focused on eliminating the vestiges of fascist and bourgeois ideology and culture, the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist outlook in the working people, the youth and the children, the elimination of illiteracy and enhancing the overall educational standard of everyone and the full involvement and utilization of the entire intelligentsia and the creation of a new socialist intelligentsia through the decisive reorganization of educational and instructive work among university and secondary school students, the utilization of everything valuable in the thousand-year-old Bulgarian and world science and culture and the creation of a socialist literature, art and science, etc.

Without entering into the details of the nature of the individual stages in the implementation of the socialist cultural revolution in Bulgaria, I believe that we could conventionally divide the cultural revolution into three basic stages:

The Dimitrov stage: from the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution to the beginning of the 1950s;

From the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum to the 10th Party Congress, which adopted the BCP program of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria and defined the tasks of the further development of the cultural revolution and building the culture of mature socialism;

The creation and development of the culture of the developed socialist society and the further enrichment of the party's April cultural policy.

The 5th BCP Congress was of historical significance and role in the development of Bulgaria, including the elaboration and development of a party cultural policy for the new historical period.

However, in analyzing the party's cultural policy after the 5th Congress, we should emphasize that the beginning of the 1950s was a difficult and conflicting period in the work of the BCP with the intelligentsia. On the one hand, we had a proper general line of development of the country in all areas of life on the way to socialism, as elaborated at the 5th Congress. We had the example and behests of Georgi Dimitrov. We had the inspired, constructive and enthusiastic work of communists, united agrarians and nonparty

people, and of the young and the old in the implementation of the congress's resolutions and Dimitrov's behests. We had a large and honest intelligentsia the tremendous majority of which was with the people and the party.

However, the yellowing pages of party documents, RABOTNICHESKO DELO and the specialized literature and art press, unfortunately, have preserved for us and for future generations the bitter truth of the distortion of the Leninist principles and norms of party and social life, work with cadres and Dimitrov's methods and traditions, his behests and his experience in work with cadres, the intelligentsia and the creative workers. Dogmatism, the cult of personality, subjectivism and gross bureaucratism began to assume the upper hand in relations between the party's leadership and the creative intelligentsia.

A radical turn in the style and methods of party and state leadership was historically necessary and inevitable. This historical turn was accomplished by the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

III

The April period, the Leninist ideological-aesthetic nature of the April general line of the BCP in the area of artistic culture has been an exceptionally fruitful stage in the development of the Bulgarian cultural revolution.

I think that in most general terms the April cultural policy means loyalty and infinite dedication to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application and development; the restoration of the Leninist principles and norms of social life and their firm application in the management of this rather complex and specific area and in the interrelationship between and work with the creative unions and cultural institutions and individual creative workers; a principled exigency toward and full trust in the creative workers; further development and enrichment of socialist realism, party and nationality-mindedness as a scientific theory and as an artistic practice in creating all the necessary sociopolitical and social conditions and atmosphere for a true variety of genres and creative styles; fuller exposure of communist party-mindedness not only and merely as the ideological and organizational principle but an aesthetic category and against its anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and bourgeois distortions. The April line and policy mean the further elaboration of the problem of the party's leadership and the freedom of the creative worker and irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology and culture and its various deviations from Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and cultural policy. They mean the class-party approach and criterion toward artistic facts, phenomena and trends as an essential feature of the April line; the enhancement of the social role and function of culture; the development of efforts to ensure nationwide aesthetic upbringing; improving the democratization of social management and introducing the sociostate principle in the management of culture and broadening democratization in the management of cultural life; real enhancement of rights and the role of creative unions; and steady enrichment of the April creative atmosphere which ensured the unity and cohesion of the artistic and creative intelligentsia rallied around the party's policy and line.

In the fourth lecture entitled "On the Place and Role of the Spiritual Sphere in Building Developed Socialist Society in Bulgaria," which Comrade T. Zhivkov delivered to the students and teachers of the AONSU, he emphasized that "the April line is the general line also in the development of the spiritual area, consistent with its specific characteristics. It is a line of creative construction for the sake of the communist ideal. The April line became the unshakeable ideological and political foundation on which the unity of the Bulgarian intelligentsia was developed and is strengthening systematically and on a principled basis. It released the tremendous creative possibilities and energy and led to remarkable successes achieved by Bulgarian socialist culture" (p 6). It was precisely on this basis that he drew the conclusion that in turn the spiritual sphere plays a tremendous role in the further assertion of the April line in the minds and behavior of all working people in our society and its increasingly more profound mastery, development and implementation.

The main feature which now occupies workers and cadres in the field of culture, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, is the problem of further enhancing the quality and role of the spiritual sphere in building mature socialism, developing the communist individual and asserting the socialist way of life and our communist truth. This means, above all, shaping a communist outlook, the high professional training and active life stance which will enhance the subjective factor, raising it to the level of the responsibilities of the builder of mature socialism, the shaping of comprehensively and harmoniously developed individuals, the systematic pursuit of the class-party approach and criteria, etc.

The 10th Party Congress emphasized that the first and basic prerequisite for the proper implementation of a consistent class-oriented party line in the field of culture is that of cadres, the people on whom the implementation of this policy depends. Not state censorship, not gross bureaucratic administration but individual creative and civic responsibility of artistic councils, administrative-artistic managements, editorial boards and managements of creative unions and cultural institutions and the role of artistic criticism in the creation, rating, popularization, dissemination and assertion of one cultural value or another should prevail. The party provides its leadership through the personalities--party and nonparty members--in the management of the creative unions and the cultural, ideological, propaganda and scientific institutes.

This is one of the main prerequisites for what I could describe as the main accomplishment of the April line and policy. It is the internal, the deeply realized involvement of the tremendous percentage of the artistic and creative intelligentsia with the ideas and cause of the party and those of communism, and the problems and ideas of building a socialist society.

One of the most ideological scientific and theoretical problems of the nature of art is that of the ideological-artistic standard of art as the subjective artistic-imagistic reflection and recreation of reality.

The 12th Party Congress and the 4th Congress of Bulgarian Culture, which took into consideration the considerable accomplishments in the artistic recreation of socialist reality, noted that the growth of the artistic skill,

innovativeness, variety and blossoming of the capabilities of the socialist creative workers as the free poets of their time and inspired fighters for great ideals are becoming a lasting trend. Let me recall the successful ascending development and major ideological and artistic accomplishments of literature and the theater, the graphic arts, the motion pictures, music and all cultural-educational institutions and organizations.

Let me immediately add that in the field of creativity the major problem which faces criticism today is that of the artistic recreation of socialist reality, of the contemporary positive character. The time is long past of schematism, when the positive and the ideal characters were considered equal and when creators and, particularly, theoreticians and critics feared the concept of the positive character in order to prevent the recurrence of the old disease--the glossing over of reality, unjustified idealizing and the aspiration of creating ideal situations and characters which did not exist in real life.

The positive character is real. He predominates both quantitatively and qualitatively in our life with his leading positive features which define the vital and creative destinies of the individual, with his steadily expanding spiritual interests, growing general and specialized culture and high communist morality. At the same time, he remains a person of this earth with his human weaknesses and shortcomings....

As we know, the 12th Party Congress emphasized that there still are cases in which creative workers, critics and editors are unable to separate the wheat from the chaff and lack a class-party approach. There still are cases in which we sink into the petty matters of daily life and lose track of what is great and essential in life, when we lose historical perspective which rests on the real condition of today's socialist way of life in Bulgaria. Unfortunately, such assessments of the condition of creative work and literary and artistic criticism remain valid even after the 12th Congress.

That is why even at the 14th Komsomol Congress and particularly his fourth lecture at the AONSU, in discussing creative problems and the need to recreate the active, the positive character, Comrade Zhivkov emphasized that we cannot remain indifferent to the ideological groundlessness and ideological deviations from Marxism-Leninist aesthetic principles or the defaming of our socialist reality or the conscious or subconscious de-heroization in some works of art.

The task today is to enhance the social tone of literary and artistic criticism and to combine more energetically the ideological, purely scientific-professional, professional-aesthetic and sociocivic assessment of artistic-creative and critical works.

From the time of Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov and to this day literary-artistic criticism remains one of the forms of the party's leadership and the ideological guidance of the creative process. Major successes have been achieved. The April literary discussions have been among the outstanding and unique manifestations of this. The party organizations and artistic-creative

managements in all creative unions and cultural institutions must display greater initiative, daring and responsibility in resolving the problems of literary criticism.

IV

The basic problem of the socialist cultural revolution is the problem of the ideological nature of art and culture and their ideological and educational role and socialization of artistic values.

The party's program and the stipulations of party congresses (10th, 11th and 12th) and of the 3rd and 4th Culture Congresses to the effect that art is one of the main and essential, one of the decisive factors in the development of the individual, contain the most comprehensive and complete summation of the experience of our party in this respect. As the report submitted to the 12th Congress emphasizes, we must not forget that the artistic image and art can captivate a young person for life through their magic power and make the people of all generations stand tall as fighters and creators, with inspired ideals and pure spirituality. We are familiar with the Marxist-Leninist concept that aesthetic upbringing is part of communist education along with conceptual-political, moral, labor and others. However, being part of it, along with the remaining components of communist upbringing, aesthetic education itself and, I would even say purely artistic upbringing, is so comprehensive through its means and possibilities that it can affect the conceptual, political, moral, aesthetic, artistic and labor areas in shaping the individual.

One of the main directions and main tasks in the entire spiritual area--not only of artistic culture but schools and science as well--today is the task of the conceptual political molding of the young generation. My purpose is not to coarsen matters or to claim that this is necessary for the sake of the contemporary international situation alone. However, neither do we have the right to ignore this situation. This is necessary in order to shape active and conscious builders of the developed socialist society, of the future communist society. After such active and conscious builders have been molded, they will unquestionably be also the deeply convinced, active and conscious defenders of this society.

The party program, the stipulations of the 10th, 11th and 12th BCP Congresses and the documents of the 3rd and 4th Congresses of Culture emphasize that one of the most characteristic features of party policy in the area of artistic culture is the steady growth of the social role and functions of culture. The 12th Congress, the National Party Conference and the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture emphasized that we must enhance the interest and responsibility of all social, state and economic bodies and institutions in the country in enhancing the cultural standards of the working people and developing culture in all collectives and conurbation systems. The task was set for culture and cultural values to reach all labor collectives, settlements, homes and individuals. In this area we are actually also coming closer to meeting the stipulation that the main objective of the nationwide program for the aesthetic education and the program requirement of our party demand the

involvement of the entire people, the working people and the growing generations with the beautiful and lofty world of art.

In summing up the theoretical and practical cultural activities of the party during the April period, and loyal to its innovative works, in his lecture at the Academy of Social Sciences Comrade T. Zhivkov said that "culture is becoming an increasingly powerful factor in economic development.... Socialist civilization is inconceivable without high cultural standards, living conditions and individuals without production aesthetics and without aesthetic overall human activities. The cultural standard determines to the greatest extent the active life stance of the individual and shapes and develops his creative principles" (p 33). Unquestionably, this enriched concept will be of definite importance in terms of theory, scientific research, ideological and educational work and administrative practices in all state institutions, rather than in the realm of culture alone. The stipulation of intensifying the interest and responsibility of state and economic organs in enhancing the cultural standards of the working people must be really strictly followed by more practical accomplishments. This is a rather essential and additional emphasis added to everything which was set at the 12th Party Congress and, to our satisfaction, was carried out and is being done substantially within the national Cultural Complex. This is being done in a number of scientific units within the system of the Committee for Culture and outside it, through ideological and educational work. Bulgaria was able to formulate and enhance the task of nationwide aesthetic upbringing to the level of party and state policy and practical activities in all social, state, cultural and scientific institutions and all party organs in the country. This took place after the 9th Party Congress, following the party's program and the adoption of the model comprehensive program for aesthetic upbringing, which was developed under the direct guidance of L. Zhivkova, the adoption of such programs on the regional level in all okrugs by a number of departments and institutes and after the initiation of the second stage of the interpretation and study of our accomplishments and the development of such activities into a nationwide movement for aesthetic upbringing.

The long-term program on the examples set by great men of the past in the harmonious and comprehensive development of the individual was formulated as part and extension of the program for aesthetic upbringing. The individual stages of this long-term program, starting with Roerich, Leonardo da Vinci, Lenin, Konstantin-Kiril Filosof and Einstein, or the program "Noted Bulgarians"--"Georgi Dimitrov" stage--are each, in terms of comprehensiveness and complexity, programs worthy of separate scientific summations and research.

A third aspect in enriching the program for aesthetic upbringing is the Banner of Peace International Assembly which, like the long-term program on the example set by great personalities, was created on the initiative of Lyudmila Zhivkova and carried out under her direct management. Like the program for the aesthetic upbringing, the assembly earned broad international recognition by state and government leaders and the public of dozens of countries from its very first session in 1979. Bulgaria has become a center for children the world over. Parents and governments entrust their children, the most precious feature in the life of mankind, to small socialist Bulgaria.

L. Zhivkova's speech to the United Nations and UNESCO in Belgrade and at the International Scientific Symposia and Conferences, which took place in our country in connection with the assembly, met with a broad response and indicated that the ideas and projects of the assembly live and will continue to live. Today they are enriched and reciprocally expanded by all activities along the Lyudmila Zhivkova foundation for seeking, supporting and developing talent, on the one hand, and enriching the treasury of Bulgaria with cultural values from the world over, on the other.

V

The policy of the socialist countries in the area of international cultural cooperation is a structural component of the socialist cultural revolution. Socialist art, which is international in nature, is born and shaped under the conditions of the bourgeois society. It becomes dominant after the victory of the socialist revolution and enriched by the achievements of the creative workers in the country and the culture of the remaining socialist countries as well as the socialist, progressive and democratic art created in the non-socialist countries. The development of Bulgarian socialist realistic art before and particularly after the 9 September 1944 victory fully confirmed Georgi Dimitrov's statement that in the field of culture there are no small or large nations in terms of ability. Today Bulgarian socialist art is really present in the cultural lives, not only of the fraternal socialist countries but in capitalist and developing countries as well.

Bulgaria has numerous talented artistic and creative intelligentsia, loyal to the party and the people. The young generations of creative workers are enriching the national cultural treasury and the international reputation of the homeland. Alongside the greatest contemporary world singers, who are Bulgarians, are also our best instrumentalists. Dozens of professional and amateur artistic groups charm us with the magic of Bulgarian art. Bulgaria is increasingly asserting itself with its graphic art and best books, motion pictures and plays.

Literature and art are an important factor in the further all-round cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union and cooperation with the remaining socialist countries. The forms of cooperation and creative interaction are becoming richer and the quality of our active cultural cooperation is improving.

International cultural cooperation is part and extension of our general foreign and cultural policy. For this reason it has and must have an emphatically ideological and political character. The contemporary international situation, which has been aggravated by the fault of reactionary imperialist circles in the United States and the other NATO countries, unquestionably hinders fruitful cultural cooperation. The imperialist countries are trying to include art in their crusade against the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community; they use the achievements of scientific and technical progress for purposes of ideological subversion through art as well. Despite all of this, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are pursuing an active and aggressive cultural policy. Millions of working

people and progressive creative and cultural workers in the capitalist countries are exposed to the truth of real socialism through our high artistic accomplishments and works of socialist culture.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is actively and consistently cooperating with a broad range of progressive creative workers and international governmental and nongovernmental cultural organizations through the United Nations, UNESCO, etc.

Artistic culture is playing an increasing role in our cooperation with developed capitalist and developing countries. The policy pursued by the BCP and the country in this area as well is consistent and principle-minded Marxist-Leninist cultural policy, based not on circumstantial considerations but on the very nature of our society. It is a policy of extensive cooperation and exchange of true artistic values for the sake of peace and understanding, humanism and social progress. It is a policy open to and toward the world, embracing everything valuable in the world's cultural treasury and the contemporary progressive and democratic art of other nations.

Socialist Bulgaria is one of the active centers of international and cultural cooperation today. Creative workers from different parts of the planet have been recognized and are earning a recognition and developing toward great art at international competitions, festivals and other cultural events. The International Competition for Young Opera Singers, the ballet competition, the international music festivals "Sofia Musical Weeks," the "March Music Days" (Ruse), the Varna Summer and many others enjoy tremendous prestige; we are sponsoring an international exhibit of realistic paintings once every 3 years and a number of exhibits of plastic arts; we hold Sofia writers' meetings on the general topic of "Peace Is the Hope of the Planet," and the international "Banner of Peace" assembly and movement; the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation is rapidly gaining a reputation.

VI

The systematic implementation of the party's leadership and the steady democratization in the management of cultural processes and the reciprocal trust and unity between party and intelligentsia largely determined the nature and results of the socialist cultural revolution.

Unquestionably, at this point I must go back to the ideological and aesthetic nature of the April cultural policy and the time of the April Plenum. Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the Politburo and, personally, Todor Zhivkov, and struggling against distortions, the party was able to protect the socialist gains and the accuracy of its general line, which was formulated at the Fifth Congress under Dimitrov's guidance. It was able to protect its leading role in all areas. The party waged a successful struggle on three fronts: against bourgeois ideology and culture, against revisionism and against dogmatism and for the preservation of the socialist gains and the leading role of the party in all areas, including culture.

This is a priceless wealth which we, occasionally considering it an elementary truth, omit to include among the main factors which ensured the further

upsurge of the April line and policy. Years were to pass before Todor Zhivkov was to emphasize at the 14th Komsomol Congress that the party had successfully eliminated the dogmatic and revisionist fronts and the danger from the left and the right. That is why neither the 11th nor the 12th BCP congresses called for the struggle against dogmatism and revisionism within the party and the country. Naturally, let me immediately add that Comrade Zhivkov made a substantial addition, synthesized as only he can do. He said the following: "I am not mentioning individual cases, for individual cases do exist." Yet this "small" but quite substantial stipulation is sometimes forgotten by some.

Therefore, in defending the party's leading role in all areas, the April Plenum made a contribution to party theory, politics and development, a contribution which is continuing to yield rich results. This is because today--to our common happiness--not only political and party leaders speak of party leadership in culture. Such speech is heard increasingly in artistic creativity and scientific-theoretical and critical activities, i.e., in the manifestations, the creative and theoretical manifestations of the scientific and artistic-creative intelligentsia itself. It would be difficult to find a stronger argument in favor of the accuracy of a party policy than the fact that it is daily being implemented and confirmed by life, by living creative and theoretical activities.

The second aspect of the problem of management is the wealth provided by the sociostate principle.

Among others, a hint that the party, the government, the people and the creative workers must walk hand in hand in resolving the great problems of cultural development may be found in Georgi Dimitrov's stipulations themselves. Rereading Dimitrov's works would enable us to determine the full coordination between his concepts and the nature of guiding management problems today. The first direct formulation and elaboration of the problem of the sociostate principle, however, may be found in the works of Comrade Zhivkov of 1964. We know that the First Congress of Culture was held in 1967.

The sociostate principle covered the period of social experimentation and became an efficient method for competent and democratic management of cultural processes.

The 12th BCP Congress emphasized that the great accomplishments of contemporary Bulgarian artistic culture are largely due to the introduction of the sociostate principle and the real democratization in the management of cultural processes in the country. This is one of the factors which took Bulgaria into the world arena more than ever before. Unquestionably, one of its main results was the unification of the entire artistic and creative intelligentsia, of the entire public in the course of the discussion, resolution and implementation of the party's cultural policy. It was no accident that the idea, the principle of the sociostate basis was recognized and developed not only in the area of culture but, subsequently, also in education and the scientific congress; it was extended even to the material area, to

agricultural management. Today we can assert that this is one of the major steps taken by our party and country in improving the political system in Bulgaria. I mention this, for here again it is a question of a fruitful line and policy and things which really harmonize with life, with living practice, with the active participation of the creative associations and creative workers in the implementation of the party's ideas and projects.

The systematic implementation of the sociostate principle also means concern for the discovery, training and the realizing of young talents. The young Bulgarian artistic and creative intelligentsia is united and rallied around the party's policy. It is continuing in a talented way the traditions of its predecessors in the creation and development of the art of socialist realism.

The implementation of the sociostate principle at the present stage is related to the awareness and systematic implementation of the new economic approach and its mechanism in the realm of culture. As in the past, the main and determining feature here is the ideological-education and aesthetic role and function of culture and the more efficient utilization of the funds which society appropriates for culture.

The main accomplishment, the essence of the sociostate principles lies in the further real democratization in the management of cultural processes and the participation of the cultural creative workers and personalities, of the entire public, in the discussion, solution and implementation of cultural policy.

I would not like to imply that extensive democratization and the introduction of the sociostate principle have already become exhausted and explained theoretically, politically and practically and that nothing else remains to be done. Suffice it merely to note and raise some questions of the tasks proceeding from the January 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum on improving social management to realize what a great deal remains to be done from the practical, ideological and scientific-theoretical viewpoints.

Yes, we are practicing real democracy. To an increasing extent we are taking culture to all settlements, labor collectives, houses and individuals. To an increasing extent this is becoming the essence of our cultural work. However, we are in the period immediately following the National Party Conference on Quality and if we speak in terms of essence, the first problem which arises in the decentralization of cultural life is that of quality. What are the things with which we will reach all labor collectives, conurbation system, home or individual? Shall we be able on all occasions to present highly artistic ideological works or will there be an increase in pseudoart and pseudoculture, and pretentious manifestations and commercialism which, unfortunately, do exist? Or else, nevertheless, shall we be able to cover this process and decentralize cultural life in such a way as to energize the professional cultural institutions and associations and the mass information media, where each second brings with itself not only political but, generally speaking, artistic information as well, in which each second has an influence and provides an education? Shall we be able to fill each second on television and radio, in the theaters and the concert halls, in the movies or on the bookshelves, the libraries, the museums, the reading rooms, amateur

artistic performances, and so on, shall we be able to ensure, to disseminate the truly high accomplishments of Bulgarian and global artistic culture? For, as we know, Bulgaria at all times, during the April period in particular, has been and remains open to and toward the world. It has always imported real, truly artistic values and has exposed the broad toiling masses to them; it has always worked to export the best works of Bulgarian culture. The problem of quality is a key problem in contemporary socialist Bulgaria, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said. It is also a key problem in the field of artistic culture!

Ever since the April Plenum the main requirement relative to artistic creativity, as has been repeatedly emphasized, has been that of maintaining a high ideological and artistic standard and high skill. The 11th Congress expressly called for the high quality of works of art. It was no accident that the 12th Party Congress as well mainly emphasized the ideological and artistic standards. The National Party Conference on Quality was the occasion for reviewing achievements and the current situation, interpreting the experience we had gained and turning to something quite essential and important: linking the stipulation of high ideological-artistic quality with the April slogan of the Bulgarian intelligentsia: "More among the people and closer to life!"

In order for the life of the people to be recreated and in order to reflect the high quality of the labor of the Bulgarian people and the spiritual qualities and interests of the modern Bulgarians, such problems must be known and such labor accomplishments must be understood. That is why today the slogan of coming closer to life is increasingly becoming a question of real, of profound study of the life of labor collectives and the recreation of this life and its assertion in highly artistic works.

The creative workers in socialist Bulgaria have real accomplishments in this area. Here lie the great opportunities as well for upgrading the ideological and artistic standard of all works and cultural manifestations and the further enhancement of the social role and function of artistic culture in the recreation of the socialist way of life, the shaping of comprehensively and harmoniously developed socialist individuals, for an active cultural activity in all labor collectives and conurbation systems and the triumph of our communist ideal.

FOOTNOTES

1. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such." [Works], Vol 4, p 446.
2. Ibid., Vol 1, p 428.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], Volume 1, Sofia, 1977, p 39.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Volume 31, p 284.
5. D. Blagoev, "Such.," Volume 4, p 505.
6. Ibid., Volume 5, p 108.

Historical Accomplishments of Villages

Sofia NOVA VREME in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 129-138

[Article by Angel Bobokov, first deputy head of the BCP Central Committee, Agriculture Department]

[Text] The Bulgarian people achieved tremendous successes in their socio-economic and spiritual development in the 4 decades since the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution. The revolutionary changes and accomplishments in the Bulgarian countryside and in socialist agriculture clearly stand out against the background of these accomplishments.

They are being acknowledged by our friends and draw the attention and confuse those who dislike the socialist system and way of life.

Unquestionably, within a short historical period Bulgarian agriculture, which was primitive and extremely backward before the revolution, changed radically and today can be compared with the achievements of the agriculturally most advanced countries in the world.

The question legitimately arises of the nature of this transforming and constructive force which greatly increased the fertility of Mother Earth and the beneficial results of the toil of the Bulgarian peasants. Who rescued them from misery, hunger, oppression and ignorance? The answer is clear: it was above all the proper Marxist-Leninist policy of the BCP on the agrarian problem.

The BCP has the remarkable distinction of combining its loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory with its creative application and development under specific Bulgarian conditions. This is the root of the party's strength in the formulation of the general line of building a socialist society as a whole and in shaping and developing the April economic strategy, agrarian policy included.

The circumstance that immediately after the revolution the party adopted and firmly followed Lenin's fundamental concept of establishing a uniform economic base and socialist production relations in both industry and agriculture as an absolutely necessary prerequisite for the successful building of socialism was of decisive significance in the elaboration of a proper agrarian economic strategy.

The party heard Lenin's words to the effect that production concentration and specialization is a legitimate process in the development of agriculture as well and that cooperation is the only proper way leading to the development of large-scale modernized socialist farming. The party profoundly believed his thesis of the futurelessness of petty private ownership farming and the exploiting nature of the capitalist concentration of land in terms of the millions-strong rural masses.

We are witnessing the way the latest history of social practice is confirming the legitimacy of Lenin's theories and the systematic collapse of the pseudo-scientific agroeconomic theories of the defenders of the bourgeoisie. The

entire historical experience of the struggle and the building of socialism confirmed the merciless power of these inviolable rules, proving how difficult and hard to correct are the consequences for those who neglect them.

Today large-scale agriculture is making its way even in the agriculturally most advanced capitalist countries with exceptionally favorable farming conditions. The foundations of family farming are breaking down. Over the past 40 years the number of U.S. farmers has dropped by about one-half. Furthermore, 25 percent of all farmers account for about 80 percent of the main output while the other 75 percent account for 20 percent of the commodity production. Of late the trend has been to build large farms of 300,000 to 400,000 decare (mainly in crop growing). Such processes, however, are based on the cruel laws of capitalist rivalry in favor of the strong and the ruination of the weak. The army of unemployed and hired labor is growing and capitalist exploitation is increasing.

To the great credit of our party, by following the principles of Lenin's cooperative plan and relying on the experience of kolkhoz construction in the Soviet Union, it developed a creative approach in the socialist reorganization of our agriculture. Taking into consideration the specific characteristics of our petty private ownership farming and the traditions of cooperative cultivation of the land prior to the 9 September victory, the party and Georgi Dimitrov discovered an original Bulgarian form of collectivization--the TKZS--without the need to nationalize the land and while preserving the private ownership of it. Actually, this laid the foundation which subsequently developed and became the base for achieving the party's programmatic objectives of eliminating the exploitation of labor in the countryside, agriculture intensification, resolving the food problem, providing raw materials for the food industry, reducing major disparities between town and country, eliminating intraclass and interclass differences and converting to its social homogeneity.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture was not a peaceful revolutionary process of unification of petty commodity producers within cooperative farms. It took place under the conditions of a struggle against internal and external enemies and the surmounting of old traditions and private ownership mentalities. Incredible difficulties were created by the legendary backwardness of our village, artificially strengthened by subjective weaknesses and shortcomings developed during the time of the cult of personality. We know that during that period collectivization in our countryside experienced a temporary crisis and a delay. However, side by side with the united agrarians and the thousands of nonparty members, and with their apostolic dedication and personal example, the communists preserved the faith of the cooperative and private farmers in the salvation which the cooperative system offered and the powerful strength of the party in eliminating arising difficulties along the complex path of the struggle for a new life.

At that time the April 1956 Party Central Committee Plenum played a prime role in the heroic struggle for resolving the complex problems. Its historical significance was that it eliminated the weaknesses and errors which had been committed and that it inaugurated a new stage in the implementation of

the party's agrarian policy. Throughout the entire period it was creatively and systematically developed and enriched and is justifiably considered by the people as the Leninist April agrarian policy, whose major strategist and implementor is Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

While the people are grateful for the renovative and constructive role of the April line in terms of Bulgarian prosperity, our countryside has major reasons to contribute something of its own, something special and quite significant to the beneficial breath of the April spring. This is because the errors committed during the cult of personality period strongly affected the Bulgarian villages which had just taken their first entirely new steps.

Under those difficult conditions for the country, guided by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with its inherent ability and farsightedness, the party elaborated a proper line which drove forward the strengthening of the cooperative farms. Conditions were created for the full cooperation of the farmers. The Leninist farming principles were restored rapidly. The material incentive of the cooperative farmers was increased. Funds were allocated for strengthening the material base of the new TKZS. Planning, crediting and taxation were improved and a better organization of labor was applied. The economic situation of the cooperatives strengthened rapidly and they became profitable and attractive.

It was precisely during those memorable years, immediately after the historical April period, that the hearts and minds of the burdened farmers were won over once and for all by the party and the cooperative system, thus making them infinitely loyal to the people's regime and creators of the new life.

As stipulated in the party program, the most difficult and complex task in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism is the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The task was implemented. Our country was the first after the Soviet Union to ensure the full victory of the socialist system in the countryside. What took place in our villages is the equivalent of a miracle, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has said. This was accomplished thanks to the fruitful April line of the BCP.

The Leninist April agrarian party policy became a powerful factor in the ascending development of agriculture in the historically victorious path followed by socialist Bulgaria. The reason was that the party's revolutionary struggle in the tremendous construction was based on the objective laws governing the development of society, on the specific nature of our agriculture and the application of a differentiated approach based on the natural-climatic and economic conditions pervading in the various parts of the country.

The party tried steadily to analyze and interpret the acquired experience and, at the same time, to identify arising contradictions and crucial problems and to find the best ways for their solution. It implemented a solution of extensive measures for the development of the material and technical base of agriculture, strictly consistent with the law of the harmony in the development of production forces and production relations in the countryside.

The party's attention was focused on the technical retooling and chemization of agriculture. Considering the scale of the country, a domestic machine-building industry was developed within a short time along with a powerful chemical industry. Irrigated agriculture developed at a high pace.

Agriculture science and education and cadre training were developed extensively. Highly productive strains, hybrids and breeds of plants and animals and industrial technologies were used. The selfless aid of the Soviet people and fruitful cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries were invaluable in the implementation of this tremendous project.

The theoretical efforts and innovative approaches of the party and, personally, Comrade Todor Zhivkov in finding forms of organization and management of agricultural production consistent with our conditions are of particular importance. The labor-cooperative farms, the consolidated TKZS and the agro-industrial complexes are revolutionary stages in the development of our blossoming socialist agriculture and a reflection of the dialectics of development of the socialist system in the countryside, in the course of which favorable conditions were created and scope was provided for production concentration and specialization, for integrating agriculture with the processing sectors, for the socialization of productive capital and for steadily enhancing the level of maturity of cooperative ownership and bringing it closer to national ownership. This was paralleled by the introduction of progressive means and methods of farming and expanding democratic management traditions.

During a certain stage in the development of the TKZS under the changed conditions, Comrade Todor Zhivkov foresaw the need for consolidating the then-existing farms and creating joint TKZS. This was an essentially new and higher stage in the development of the party's agrarian policy, consistent with the victorious socialist production relations. We are familiar with the tremendous successes achieved by the cooperative system during that period in its development and in the utilization of the material facilities and in the economic, social and spiritual areas in the countryside, so successfully summed up by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Congress of the Consolidated TKZS in 1967.

In analyzing the successes which were achieved during that period, the party promptly identified the disparity which had developed between the existing production organization and the requirements of the new stage in the country's development. The building of a developed socialist society in the countryside called for taking more fully into consideration the scientific and technical revolution as an objective law in agriculture production as well. Based on the experience of the cooperative farms and the results of the new types of organization with which the party had experimented, at the April 1970 Plenum Comrade Todor Zhivkov creatively substantiated the establishment of APK [agroindustrial complexes] as a new original form of agricultural production concentration. Since the TKZS were consistent with the requirements of the transitional period in building socialism, the purpose of the APK was to meet the new requirements of our development.

Through the new concentration we created in agriculture the material and technical base and production system consistent with the new stage of socio-economic development--the building of a developed socialist society. Subsequently this was confirmed by reality itself.

The agroindustrial complexes created conditions for high-level concentration and specialization, which enabled us to apply on accelerated basis industrial technologies and production methods and to convert agricultural labor into a variety of industrial work. Opportunities were created for the development of integration processes with the processing industry, etc. Naturally, this was a complex process of advancement and development. At the very start of the new organization, Comrade Todor Zhivkov conceived of the APK not as a frozen but a developing form. This indeed is what happened: within a short time a powerful material and technical base was developed in the APK. However, its utilization was inconsistent with its objective possibilities. A contradiction was developing between the accelerated development of the production base and the lagging of the subjective factor, so profoundly identified at the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum. In the course of developing the material elements of production forces in agriculture and the existing concentration and specialization, a lagging occurred in the development of adequate intrafarm organization, management and economic mechanism in the APK, consistent with these improved conditions. This failed adequately to stimulate the activeness, creativity and initiative of managing and performing cadres. In answer to these requirements, at its March 1979 Plenum the party's Central Committee developed the problems of improving the socialist organization of labor and planned agricultural management and the systematic conversion of its management to an economic base.

An economic mechanism consistent with the specific characteristics of agrarian production was established on the basis of specific directions. On Comrade Todor Zhivkov's initiative the development of a qualitatively new form of management and administration of agroindustrial production was developed--the National Agroindustrial Union (NAPS). This was the first farming organizational method the management of which was based on the state-social principle. The NAPS is a voluntary economic union of original aspect and content, consistent with our conditions and most fully meeting the requirements of the systematic utilization of economic management methods and principles of self-support, the further development of integration relations between agriculture and industrial sectors and the broadening of the democratic traditions in its management from top to bottom.

In accordance with the resolutions of the March BCP Central Committee Plenum, the question arose of strengthening the intrafarm organization of the APK, of the primary level, as an important prerequisite for the more efficient utilization of material-technical and manpower resources. At the April 1980 conference Comrade Todor Zhivkov described the brigade of a new type as the most suitable form of organization in ensuring the optimizing and effective utilization of the main production factors. It was in accordance with this stipulation that the familiar theses of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the systematic application of the economic approach and the socialist organization of labor in agriculture were confirmed. They provided a new impetus

in the advancement of the APK and the accelerated development of the brigades on an economic basis.

The APK obtained their new development through the creation of the conurbation systems, which are an original Bulgarian form of organization and management for identifying and making full use of local opportunities and reserves. Within the new territorial units the APK had their social functions broadened. They became the base for the implementation of the self-sufficiency system, which is yet another creative solution provided by our party. The APK are the main booster in the development of the personal farms as an extension of the public ones as an extension of the public ones. They receive comprehensive assistance and, at the same time, coordinate relations between the APK and the private farmers in order to ensure the optimal development of public farming and the involvement of millions of working people in the production of food in their personal plots.

The party's policy of systematic development of the APK as a qualitatively new type of socialist economic organization in the countryside had a direct impact not only on the steady increase in the production of agricultural commodities but the consistent maturing and enhancement of cooperative ownership to the level of national ownership. This great accomplishment of the April line created an objective condition for the exceptionally important theoretical stipulation formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of the owner and manager of the socialist property which has essentially become the fundamental base for a qualitatively new advancement of agricultural management and organization and of the entire system of the National Agroindustrial Union and the active participation of labor collectives in the management of productive capital.

Within a short time, in accordance with the resolutions of the January 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum, a major reform was made in the organizational and managerial structure of the APK. The existing 8,500 brigades were reorganized into 3,300 brigades of a new type. We converted from the three- to the two-level management method. This enabled us to eliminate duplicating and intermediary units and to release good management specialists who took over the new-type brigades. The administrative structure of the central APK management was simplified and became more efficient and effective.

The changes which took place in the basic economic organization called for improvements in the OAPS [okrug agroindustrial unions] and the central management of the NAPS, as well as the servicing units, those engaged in scientific services in particular.

The creative searches of the party's leadership and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally were manifested in the discovery and establishment of original and suitable means of linking science with practice and the accelerated application of leading scientific and technical accomplishments in production. The following NPO* were created: "seed and planting materials production" and

* Scientific-production associations

"cattle and sheep breeding." This resolved the problem of hog and poultry breeding, vegetable production, viticulture and tobacco growing. A network of application organizations was developed. Currently we also have an agricultural academy, which is successfully coordinating the activities of scientific research and application links and is combining the entire agrobiological front with a view to the efficient utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

Application activities are steadily intensifying following the organization of relations between scientific research and application organizations on an economic basis and the "idea-application" process is becoming substantially shorter. This has a positive reflection on the production process.

In the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution, we can proudly say that the agrarian policy of the BCP honorably passed the test of time. The clear triumph of the correct April party line is manifested in the historical successes achieved by agriculture. This is one of the greatest accomplishments in the 40 years which have passed since the socialist revolution.

Today Bulgarian agriculture is one of the most concentrated systems of powerful agroindustrial complexes. We have 314 APK cultivating an average of 125,000 decares each and with a volume in excess of 20 million levas' worth of overall agricultural output. Poultry combines with a capacity of from 5 to 20 million broilers annually account for 80 percent of the produced poultry meat; 40 percent of the eggs come from poultry combines which produce from 100,000 to 1 million eggs; about 40 percent of the pork is produced on the basis of new technologies in large hog-breeding complexes which fatten from 30,000 to 100,000 piglets, etc.

A tremendous material and technical base has been created. Basic productive capital increased by more than 9 billion leva since 1970. Today our agriculture has more than 60,000 tractors (151,000 on the basis of 15 horsepower), more than 20,000 combines and about 17,000 trucks. The system of machines is steadily developing and improving through the addition of powerful energy-saturated tractors, harvesting equipment with high handling capacity and automatic systems which are replacing manual labor in machine control or in entire technological processes.

Today our country is in one of the leading positions in the world in terms of the share of irrigated areas which account for 25 percent of the arable land.

Considerable growth has been achieved in agricultural chemization. Compared to 1970, the amount of chemicals used in 1983 approximately doubled. Production capacities of the animal feed industry increased more than tenfold between 1960 and 1983.

Compared with the prewar 1939, overall agricultural output nearly tripled. Animal husbandry increased substantially, by a factor of 3.5; vegetable production quadrupled and that of animal feed crops increased by a factor of 4.5, etc. Yields from basic crops and livestock productivity increased significantly.

All of this ensured the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the working people for food and the further implementation of the party's December program as well as the increased participation of our country in the international division of labor.

As a result of production intensification the number of farmers was reduced by a factor of more than 3 while labor productivity nearly tripled. These processes are related also to the profound changes in the professional-skill structure of the manpower. The share of skilled workers increased in absolute and relative terms. The mechanizer is the main character determining the feature of the farm worker. In terms of content and nature his labor is becoming gradually similar to that of workers in other national economic sectors.

Over the past 40 years the rural working people acquired significant social gains. Agricultural income has been rising steadily. The average annual wages per farmer more than tripled between 1956 and 1982 while social consumption funds increased more than tenfold. Bulgaria is one of the first countries in the world in which peasants are paid old-age and disability pensions. In this respect equalizing the social insurance facilities of agricultural workers with workers in other economic sectors was a major accomplishment.

A true revolution was made in the areas of electrification, water supply and urbanization of settlements. Housing facilities have been unrecognizably renovated. Our villages have become blossoming settlements. The spiritual life in the countryside was changed and cultural and consumer services have improved. A new spirituality, comradeship, mutual aid and a collectivistic mentality as well as new ideological and spiritual interests are characteristic of the Bulgarian peasants.

The most general conclusion is that during the building of socialism the BCP achieved a lasting and comprehensive revolutionary renovation of the Bulgarian countryside.

The 12th Party Congress laid the beginning of a new stage in the further development and implementation of the April general line and the implementation of the party's main strategic task: the comprehensive satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

The party's agrarian policy for the forthcoming stage is ruled by the same high requirements.

Agriculture must ensure the necessary output for the year-round rhythmical supplying of the population with a richer idea of high-grade food. It must produce raw materials for the processing industry of adequate quantity and quality. Furthermore, on the basis of new solutions, biotechnology in particular, agriculture must become the source of quantitatively and qualitatively new biological raw materials for the production of a broad range of valuable bioproducts. It is a question of the production of highly competitive goods at low cost, high productivity and quality in order to preserve

the current markets and gain new ones. Only thus will we be able to ensure the active participation of the country in the international division of labor and to increase the contribution of agriculture to the solution of social problems and increasing the national income and foreign exchange resources earned by the country. The solution of these problems will mean that an average rate of output in excess of 4 percent must be maintained during the 8th Five-Year Plan and high rates of output must be kept in subsequent years as well.

It is particularly important to ensure the priority development of highly effective products in demand domestically and abroad.

In this connection the 12th Congress named as a strategic task the production of grain and its rational utilization. Animal husbandry production must be increased at a faster rate. We must also increase the production of strategic and cash crops such as tobacco, grapes, fruits, sugar beets, sunflower and vegetables.

These highly responsible and difficult problems will be resolved mainly through intensification, based on the peak achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The task is, by applying on a comprehensive and accelerated basis, modern biological, technological and organizational solutions and ensuring the maximal utilization of our natural resources and basic production factors and achieve high-level productivity and output with minimal possible material-technical, financial and manpower resources.

Intensification will be expressed through the implementation of a set of measures.

The use of breeds, hybrids and strains of plants and animals, which combine high potential productivity with high quality of the products they synthesize, ecological stability considering our climate and economically processed material resources, adaptable to the use of industrial technologies, will be applied on an accelerated basis. To this effect, along with classical selection methods our science will also use modern methods such as genetic engineering--combined crops, and cellular chromosome and genetic engineering.

Extensive use will be made of essentially new technologies, methods and approaches. On this basis concern for the land and for upgrading soil fertility and enabling the active use of the entire land stock will be increased and new resource-saving soil cultivation methods will be introduced.

Differentiated farming systems will be developed on the basis of the agro-ecological approach with a view to the maximal utilization of all categories of land.

Programs have been drafted and are being implemented for the restructuring of chemization through the use of new, more efficient chemicals and new technical solutions; a new system of agrochemical services is being introduced; an expanded program is being implemented for hydraulic engineering, as a result of which about 30 percent of the land will have fully ensured irrigation, which is a firm foundation for upgrading farming productivity and stability.

Animal husbandry will be developed essentially by increasing livestock productivity. To this effect specialized breeds will be developed for meat and milk and expanded. The animal feed and protein problems will be resolved faster. New nutritional systems will be applied to reach world-level achievements of minimal feed outlays per unit of output.

Cattle and sheep breeding are being reorganized on the basis of technologies consistent with natural elements. This will decisively improve productivity, extend the useful lifespan and reduce investments in the construction of animal husbandry premises. It is on this basis that a new approach will be applied in the development of semimountainous livestock breeding--the raising of animals adapted to the harsh conditions and the efficient utilization of the rich grass and feed resources and inexpensive premises.

Comprehensive productive mechanization and automation will be given a new dimension. A line of accelerated renovation of equipment will be followed involving technological sets of machines and high productivity lines. We shall apply a set of measures which will ensure the optimal utilization of the equipment and will enable us to retool agriculture with fewer expensive pieces of machinery and, consequently, with lower investments.

A new system for repair, maintenance and preventive care of equipment, etc., is being introduced.

In accordance with the instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the building of specialized engineering-application organizations of a new type will be assigned an important role in the accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements. They will guarantee the application of new solutions within short periods of time and the maximal utilization of the entire arsenal of Bulgarian and foreign vanguard technologies, equipment, biological resources, etc.

The further enhancement of the activeness and creativity of labor collectives and agricultural workers will be based on the most efficient ways and means of farming, consistent with the new economic approach and its mechanism. Conditions are being created for strengthening and fully organizing the new-type brigades. The piece-rate bonus system is being applied comprehensively as the most successful form of linking wages to end production results.

Decisive improvements will be made in the qualitative structure of the manpower with a view to surmounting the disparity between growing science-intensiveness of agrarian output and the lag in the skills of managerial and performing cadres. Steps will be taken to improve the social and cultural limitations of rural workers. The application of comprehensive mechanization and quality changes in the nature of labor and the party's line of building small enterprises and developing consumer cooperatives and the self-sufficiency system in conurbation systems are major prerequisites for the solution of social problems and mark a new stage in the development of processes of eliminating disparities between town and country and contributing to the stabilization of the rural manpower.

In the next few years the implementation of the agrarian policy formulated at the 12th BCP Congress will raise our agriculture to the level of the agriculturally most developed countries. It is true that some highly developed countries have been more generously endowed by nature. Our agriculture, however, enjoys other privileges: it is favored by the fruitful rays of the Leninist April policy of the BCP. In the capitalist countries the farmers are exposed to bankruptcy, whereas our agricultural working people are fully optimistic, for our agriculture is developing under the concern of our people's state for, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, the party's agrarian policy is becoming the personal cause of the entire people, of our great working class, the scientific and technical revolution and the entire scientific front.

All of this is clear proof of the vitality of real socialism and the historical advantages of the socialist social system compared to the capitalist system of exploitation, which oppresses and suppresses the working people with the uncertainty of the future, denigrates human dignity and intensifies the moral degradation of the individual.

Today, standing on the peak of the 40th birthday of the 9 September Socialist Revolution, we can say more proudly than ever before that history, this merciless judge, has passed its heavy sentence on the proper line formulated by the party. The future belongs to socialist agriculture. Its socialist nature consists exclusively of constructive processes and the base which was created through the toil and efforts of the generations is a favorable soil for its tireless ascent. The revolutionary thinking, strategic vision and new approaches with which Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the BCP Central Committee are arming the party and the people provide a new impetus in the struggle waged by the socialist working people, by the cadres tempered in difficulties, for the full utilization of the possibilities and reserves and for reaching new heights and further enhancing Bulgarian agriculture and the new, socialist type of farming.

Neighborly Relations in Balkans

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[Article by Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs]

[Text] The Bulgarian people are on the threshold of a great anniversary--the 40th anniversary of the 9 September 1944 Socialist Revolution. The period which followed this memorable date has been the highest step reached in the 13-century-old history of the Bulgarian state. It has been characterized by profound political, socioeconomic and cultural changes in the entire society and revolutionary changes in the country's foreign policy.

The main feature in these changes is that essentially foreign policy became the policy of the working class and all working people, consistent with the age-old peace- and freedom-loving and democratic traditions of the people, serving their socialist present and communist future and the cause of peace, security and cooperation among nations.

This historical turn has had a particularly strong influence on Bulgaria's Balkan policy. We can clearly speak of the type of qualitative changes which are of fatal significance to the Bulgarian people and, largely, the peace and stability in the Balkans.

The initial directions of the Balkan policy of socialist Bulgaria were formulated the very first days after the people's victory. As instructed by Georgi Dimitrov, in its 17 September 1944 programmatic declaration the Fatherland Front government formulated as one of the basic objectives of its foreign policy the establishment of closest possible relations "with the other Balkan peoples for a final and fraternal agreement to be reached among the Balkan countries on all controversial problems." The immediate joining of the war for the definitive defeat of fascist Germany by the Bulgarian People's Army, the initialing of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid treaties with Yugoslavia, Romania and Albania and the readiness shown to maintain good relations with Greece and Turkey were all manifestations of the foreign policy line of new People's Democratic Bulgaria in the Balkans.

It was during the periods which followed the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum that this line was entirely and comprehensively and creatively enriched. It creatively embodies the invaluable theoretical legacy of V. I. Lenin, the tremendous experience of the first state of workers and peasants and the rich contribution of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, whose concentrated expression may be found in a number of works by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. The formulation, conduct and exercise of the Balkan policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic is the collective work of the BCP Central Committee and the Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Todor Zhivkov, the BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the NRB State Council, is credited with particularly great contribution and historical merits in this connection. As the ideologue and strategist of the Balkan policy of socialist Bulgaria, he formulated the lasting objectives of this policy and substantiated the Marxist-Leninist principles on which it is structured. He earmarked its distinguished features and practical approaches with his Leninist style, characteristic of his overall theoretical, political and statesmanlike work. Under his direct leadership the Bulgarian People's Republic became an active and influential factor of peace, stability and cooperation in the Balkans.

"The basic line of our policy in the Balkans," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said shortly after the April Plenum, "is manifested in our aspiration to maintain friendly, good neighborly and comradely relations with all Balkan countries."¹

Throughout the entire subsequent period he consistently developed this line. He repeatedly proclaimed the lofty objectives and aspirations of the Leninist foreign policy of socialist Bulgaria for peace, free national existence and understanding and cooperation among nations. He expressed the friendly feelings of the Bulgarian people toward the other Balkan peoples and his desire to live in peace and friendship with them. Each step, action and initiative taken by the Bulgarian People's Republic in developing good neighborly relations with the Balkan countries and peoples encompasses these lofty objectives and aspirations.

The policy of the NRB, which is concentrated on consolidating peace in the Balkans and the development of good neighborly relations with all Balkan nations, is shaped on the specific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the world and the area, the steadily changing ratio of forces and the developing trends and determining factors. The starting point is the particularly important position which the situation in the Balkan peninsula and the relations between Bulgaria and neighboring countries hold in strengthening peace in the area and creating favorable external circumstances for the socialist development of the country.

The basic objective of the overall foreign policy of socialist Bulgaria--"ensuring maximally favorable international conditions for building a socialist society in our country and for making its contribution to strengthening the positions of socialism, progress and peace throughout the world"²--is the concentrated expression of the nature of the Bulgarian Balkan policy, formulated at the 10th BCP Congress.

Its purpose is to contribute to a maximal extent to the implementation of the most important long-term foreign political tasks of the country at the present stage as codified in the Bulgarian constitution: to protect the interests and socialist gains of the people and the national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country; to developing strength and friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the USSR and the other socialist countries; to strengthen the just struggle waged by the peoples for independence and social progress and to contribute to improving world peace and understanding among all nations and peoples.³

The struggle for peace, Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, is a "struggle for the strengthening and blossoming of our homeland."⁴ That is why peace and good neighborly relations in the Balkans are a prime national task of Bulgarian foreign policy. We can make rapid progress toward socialism only under the conditions of peace. That is why the Bulgarian people are profoundly interested in maintaining an atmosphere of peace, reciprocal understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and throughout Europe, so that their peaceful toil can be secured. Furthermore, everything we have achieved after the victory of the socialist revolution "could have been accomplished only under the conditions of peace. All of our future plans can be implemented only under circumstances of peace."⁵

These stipulations are not a manifestation of any kind of pacifism or narrow nationalistic and egotistical interests. "Bulgaria," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, "is a socialist country and its national interest as well as those of the socialist system and the international communist and national liberation movements dictate to it the pursuit of a policy of peace and good neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans, a policy which is entirely consistent with the basic interests of all Balkan nations."⁶

True to the interests of its people, the BCP is pursuing the type of Balkan policy which organically combines the ideals of its unity and all-round upsurge and building a developed socialist society in our country with the international objectives of the struggle for peace, security and social

progress in the Balkans. It is a policy in which national, class and international features have blended together. Reality proves that not only contradictions but also an inseparable dialectical tie is present between the struggle for peace and the most important national task of the Bulgarian socialist foreign policy in the Balkans and its international obligations. Our share in the common responsibility and our contribution to strengthening peace in Europe and the world, Comrade Zhivkov points out, are manifested above all in "our share of responsibility in resolving this problem in the Balkans."⁷ It is thus, he adds elsewhere, that "we actively contribute to strengthening the positions of peace and socialism in the Balkans and assist the efforts of the members of the socialist community and the other peace-loving forces in Europe."⁸

The stabilizing role of the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community is having a particularly beneficial influence on the situation in the Balkans. The NRB invariably promotes the closest possible harmony of its Balkan policy with the policies of the members of the socialist community, convinced that it is precisely this which makes it a "class, socialist, truly internationalist policy, consistent with the interests of all revolutionary forces and the aspirations of all nations."⁹ Furthermore, it was only by becoming a structural component of the powerful socialist community that Bulgaria has been able to pursue its truly independent policy. It was precisely the fact that the NRB is close with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries that strengthens even further its role as a factor of peace in the Balkans.

The Balkan policy of the NRB has its own specific national coloring, naturally, and its harmony with the policy of the members of the socialist community does not mean either unification or depersonalization of its national character or else any limitations imposed on its autonomy and initiative. This is confirmed by the overall exceptionally active and profoundly meaningful activities of the Bulgarian People's Republic for the sake of peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans.

High Marxist-Leninist principle-mindedness is the pillar on which Bulgaria's Balkan policy rests. Bulgaria is not influenced by accidental factors and circumstances. It does not seek temporary advantages at the expense of lasting and long-term objectives but clearly and openly formulates the lasting principles by which it is guided and which it invariably supports.

One of the most important positive changes which took place in the Balkans after World War II was the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of the socialist social system in three other Balkan countries. This objectively led to the prevalence of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the area and introduced a new content into the principle-minded base of relations between Bulgaria with these countries. Despite the different levels of maturity reached by socialist social relations and occasional ideological and political differences on specific matters, the Bulgarian People's Republic is building its relations with the socialist states in the area on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism. These principles, comprehensively and scientifically substantiated, are being

tested and confirmed through practical experience and the steadily increasing and intensifying cooperation in different areas.

The fact that a given socialist state does not accept the principles of socialist internationalism as a basis of its relations with the remaining socialist countries or introduces into this concept a different inconsistent meaning does not change the essential foundations of Bulgarian foreign policy toward that country. However, it clearly reduces the opportunities for the full manifestation of such principles.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is making constant efforts to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems in the Balkans. This is consistent with the vital interests of all Balkan countries and peoples.

Realism is a characteristic feature of Bulgaria's Balkan foreign policy. Steadfastly pursuing the objective of strengthening peace and good neighborly cooperation, in all individual cases it takes into consideration the level of readiness of one country or another to participate in its implementation. The Bulgarian Balkan policy is distinguished by its steady aspiration for relations among neighbors to be based on common, coinciding and parallel interests, interests which are consistent with the strengthening of joint peace, security and cooperation. Here the emphasis is laid on what brings the people closer rather than which opposes them and is essentially of a transitional nature. Should specific difficulties or differences arise, the Bulgarian People's Republic approaches them from the positions of reciprocal consideration and respect for the interests of the individual countries and tries to create favorable circumstances for the reciprocal and profitable solution of such problems with artificially aggravating them or stressing them in relations with neighbors. There is no problem on which the NRB has not expressed its willingness to contribute its share to achieving mutually beneficial agreements with its partners. It is guided by the understanding that with good will even the worst tangles, either inherited from the past or triggered by current problems of international relations, could be unraveled. That is why the NRB always considers even the most difficult problems with a feeling of sober optimism. At the same time, in no circumstance has it allowed or will allow the development of bilateral relations with any country to be directed at third countries. This is of exceptional significance, particularly under Balkan conditions, in which the situation is such that it requires a great deal of patience and tactfulness in surmounting accumulated prejudices and strengthening trust among countries. Consequently, it is a policy which is profoundly principle-minded, constructive and consistently peaceful.

At the present stage, Bulgaria's foreign policy in the Balkans is based on the program approved at the 12th BCP Congress of further development of relations with Balkan countries and strengthening peace, security and good neighborly cooperation in the area. This is a rich program in terms of content and form and instructive as well as realistic. It marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the peaceful Balkan policy pursued by our country and essentially is the concretizing and application of the Peace

Program for the 1980s adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress and adapted to Balkan conditions. The systematic efforts for its implementation are yielding positive results.

Taking objective factors and the requirements of political realism into consideration, the Bulgarian People's Republic is making particular efforts to develop bilateral relations with neighboring countries. It considers maintaining and steadily developing good neighborly and friendly bilateral relations the basic and irreplaceable prerequisite of determining significance in strengthening the joint political climate in the Balkans. It is this that contributes in the best possible way to the better reciprocal knowledge and understanding and the further enhancement of trust among the peoples in the Balkans.

The similarity of socioeconomic and political systems of the socialist countries in the Balkans and their common ideology and lasting objectives and interests are a major prerequisite for the development of reciprocal relations among them. It is on this basis that the NRB is making tireless efforts to expand and intensify its cooperation with the Balkan socialist states. The progress noted in this respect in recent years has been unquestionable.

Bulgarian-Romanian relations are showing an ascending development. These are relations between two fraternal members of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, based on the principles of socialist internationalism. The renewal of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty (Sofia, 19 November 1970), which was an expression of the reciprocal aspiration of reaching an even higher level in relations between the two countries and their peoples, was a particularly important step in their further development.

The regular and already traditional (more than 30) official and business meetings between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu play an exceptionally important role in the expansion and intensification of Bulgarian-Romanian relations. As was noted during the last friendly visit which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu paid to Sofia last March, the agreements reached on the highest level are being successfully implemented.¹⁰ Contacts are expanding along party and government lines and between parliaments and mass organizations. Direct relations have been established between central departments and between 10 pairs of okrugs and a number of cities and production collectives in both countries. Extensive experience is being traded in building socialism. A number of documents were initialed which constitutes a firm contractual legal foundation for cooperation in various areas.

Economic and scientific and technical cooperation is developing particularly dynamically. Reciprocal trade will be increased by a factor of nearly 2.5 between 1981 and 1985 compared with the previous five-year period. A number of agreements are being implemented in production specialization and cooperation in machine building, electronics, electrical engineering, metallurgical, chemistry and other economic areas. Agriculture, domestic trade, tourism and transportation are other important areas of cooperation between the two countries. Power transmission lines and the gas pipeline link the Soviet

Union with Bulgarian territory. The long-term program for scientific and technical cooperation is being successfully implemented.

Cooperation in culture, science and education has developed considerably. Contacts among departments and institutes and between creative associations and organizations in this area have been energized.

Contacts established so far as well as joint efforts further to enhance relations between the two countries within the framework of the socialist community as well are a guarantee of the further expansion and intensification of comprehensive Bulgarian-Romanian cooperation.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations have progressed in the spirit of the principled and consistent policy pursued by the Bulgarian People's Republic. Repeatedly and authoritatively emphasized in official documents and statements made at most responsible party and state forums and by senior leaders, such a policy is being convincingly confirmed through daily practical actions aimed at the further strengthening of ties and cooperation with Yugoslavia as a neighboring socialist country. This line is consistent with the lasting common interests and aspirations of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav nations and is an important factor in strengthening peace and security in the Balkans.

Ties between the BCP and the Yugoslav Communist League central committees are an essential factor in the development of political relations. The practice of reciprocal visits of senior party and state leaders of both countries is continuing; work groups and lecturers are being traded in the study of the experience of the two parties. Contacts between parliaments have been reestablished. The ties between the Fatherland Front National Council and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and between trade union, youth, women's and other public and mass organizations are strengthening. Contacts are maintained between the leaderships of a number of ministries and departments and sister cities. Hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian and Yugoslav citizens meet annually at traditional rallies held by the two countries on the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border.

The steady development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation as well is a stabilizing factor in bilateral relations as a whole. Reciprocal trade has been doubling every 5 years. Along with the efforts to increase its volume, we are already undertaking the use of a number of new forms of economic cooperation. Currently 22 treaties for industrial cooperation and specialization in machine building, chemistry, light industry and metallurgy have been initialed between the two countries. Bulgaria is providing financial support in improving the condition of some roads in Yugoslavia. It has granted a long-term loan for expanding the aluminum combine in Titograd. New installations have been built or are under construction for linking the power systems of the two countries. There has been a considerable development of cooperation in agriculture, transportation, communications and tourism. The Mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation and its seven specialized commissions and work groups are actively operating. A Bulgarian-Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce has been established.

The implementation of the resolution passed during the visit which Milka Planinic, chairman of the Yugoslav Union Executive Council, paid to Bulgaria, will be of particular importance in the further development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation. It will apply to the preparations for and initialing of a joint document on basic trends of economic and scientific and technical cooperation over the next 5-year period and after it.

Cultural relations are expanding as well on the basis of the Agreement on Cultural Exchange and the regularly signed 3-year plans. Direct contacts have been established between individual creative associations and organizations in the field of culture. There are regular exchanges of theater and opera groups, motion picture shows, exhibitions, etc. Cooperation between the academies of sciences and a number of higher educational institutions of both countries has developed significantly. Postgraduate students, teachers and participants in seminars, symposiums, and other measures is developing significantly.

The objective conditions prevailing within the two neighboring socialist countries and their reciprocal interests make possible and necessary the enhancement of Bulgarian-Yugoslav cooperation. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the 12th BCP Congress, "We look with optimism at their future and despite some difficulties we are working patiently and consistently for the development of a lasting and extensive good-neighborly cooperation in all areas. The enhancement of relations between our socialist countries is entirely consistent with the interests of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples."¹¹

The policy of socialist Bulgaria toward the Albanian People's Socialist Republic is based on a consistent class and international foundation and strict observance of the principle of reciprocal respect, equality and non-interference in domestic affairs.

Traditionally close relations have existed between the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples from the period of the national liberation struggles and the struggle against capitalism and fascism, and the period of comradely cooperation which was established after the victory of the socialist revolution in the two countries.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has repeatedly expressed its readiness for establishing fully normal Bulgarian-Albanian relations and developing them further. Unquestionably, this would be in the interest of the two nations and would contribute to peace and socialism. No hindrances in achieving this objective exist on the Bulgarian side.

Currently positive results have been achieved in the development of foreign trade within the framework of the long-term agreements and annual protocols for trade and payments which have been initialed. Over the past 3 years alone trade has increased from 14 to 25 million rubles. This confirms the reciprocal advantage of utilizing existing possibilities of developing bilateral Bulgarian-Albanian relations.

Bulgarian-Greek relations have been developed extensively and consistently. Based on the lasting and stable foundation of the principles of peaceful

coexistence, they could be taken as an example of relations between neighboring countries with different social systems.

The tradition of regular summit meetings between Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and President Konstantin Karamanlis and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, which has been established, is of decisive significance in the development of active contacts between Bulgarian and Greek governmental, economic, cooperative, cultural, scientific and church organizations and personalities. It is essentially thanks to such contacts that in recent years a new trend has developed in bilateral political relations: exchanging information on the positions held by the countries on current and long-term international problems and reaching similar or identical viewpoints on a number of them.

Active cooperation is developing along the line of political parties and sociopolitical organizations and trade union, youth and women's leaderships and organizations of the two countries. The active friendship societies between the two countries and the contacts between sister cities (Sofia-Athens, Varna-Piraeus, Kazanluk-Veroia, Pleven-Volos and others) and intensive tourist relations are contributing to the creation of a good psychological climate.

Trade and economic relations have become particularly broad and dynamic. Despite some difficulties and restrictions caused by Greece's EEC membership, the 1983 trade between the two countries totaled \$265 million. A number of new forms of economic relations are developing in accordance with the long-term program for economic cooperation. Seven mixed companies engaged in trading and industrial activities have been created. Scientific and technical cooperation is progressing actively.

Cultural exchanges have considerably developed in recent years on the basis of the concluded agreement and the 3-year plans for cultural cooperation. Artistic groups are exchanged. There are increasing contacts between scientific and cultural personalities and cooperation between similar cultural, scientific and training institutions and organizations of the creative intelligentsia is expanding.

Bulgarian-Turkish relations are developing at a normal pace. The visits which were exchanged on the highest level particularly contributed in this respect. Visits of ministries of foreign affairs and other members of the governments of the two countries are taking place on an almost annual basis.

The activities of the Mixed Bulgarian-Turkish Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation, with its sectorial subcommissions for industry, trade, transportation, agriculture, tourism, power industry and natural resources, mails and telecommunications and scientific and technical cooperation, are actively contributing to the positive development of economic relations. 1983 trade totaled \$152 million. A new air route was opened between Balkan BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation] in Sofia and Ankara.

Cultural relations are taking place within the framework of the concluded programs for cultural cooperation as well as through direct agreements between related organizations and institutions.

The gradual elimination of past prejudices and the establishment and intensification of reciprocal trust and of an atmosphere of frank, constructive and businesslike review and resolution of problems and the creation of a stable situation in the development of political contacts and economic and cultural cooperation have been the main results of the positive development of Bulgarian-Greek and Bulgarian-Turkish relations. All of this is being achieved thanks to reciprocally manifested realism, good will and interest in developing lasting relations of friendship and good neighborly cooperation.

All of Bulgaria's activities in the Balkans are imbued with the Leninist stipulation which was formulated at the very dawn of the appearance of socialist diplomacy: as few general statements, solemn promises and rich formulas as possible and as many clear and simple decisions and steps which can be truly aimed at peace and full elimination of the threat of war and the development of mutually profitable international cooperation.

It is also on the basis of its peaceable, principle-minded and constructive policy that the Bulgarian People's Republic shapes its approach to comprehensive cooperation among the Balkan countries. It is actively participating in a number of traditional forms of multilateral cooperation in tourism, the power industry, communications, transportation, plant protection, science, culture and sports. Most of them are carried out by a variety of social, scientific, cultural and sports organizations and associations and governmental institutions dealing with specific economic matters. Some initiatives on the Balkans are also within the framework of the subregional activities of individual international organizations such as the IKE, UNESCO, and international transportation and other authorities.

The NRB not only participates in such multilateral forums but in a number of cases has initiated their holding. At the same time, displaying a high feeling of political realism and responsibility for the cause of peace and understanding among the Balkan nations, Bulgaria categorically opposes any attempt at the political separation and pitting of the Balkans against the rest of Europe.

Although the situation on the Balkans remains relatively calm, we do not shut our eyes to the efforts of some imperialist and reactionary circles to destabilize it. The retention and expansion of U.S. and NATO military bases in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean, the stockpiling of new armaments and military equipment, the development of propaganda campaigns reaching the level of "psychological warfare," and digging into the past with a view to promoting national hostilities and pitting some Balkan countries against others are all matters of concern of the Balkan peoples and threaten the foundations of peace and good neighborly relations in the area.

Guided by the resolutions of the 12th Congress, the Balkan policy of the NRB gives priority to the task of further improving the climate of trust and turning the Balkan peninsula into a stable area of detente in Europe and throughout the world. In accordance with the principles and concepts of the Helsinki Final Act, the NRB has expressed its readiness to conclude bilateral agreements with neighboring countries, which would include a code of good neighborly relations, abandoning territorial claims and refusal to allow the

territory of any agreeing country to be used for purposes of hostile objectives and actions against others.

Any constructive step and the implementation of any idea aimed at strengthening trust and security and blocking the threat of nuclear conflict become particularly important against the background of the increasing threats to peace caused by the expansionistic policy of imperialism and, particularly, the course of unrestrained militarization pursued by the United States and plans for achieving world domination.

The suggestion which Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman, made in 1981 of taking practical steps to make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone is an exceptional contribution to strengthening trust and stability in the Balkans.

Although this is a partial measure in limiting the threat of nuclear war, the proposal is of exceptionally important and topical significance. It is based on the specific gains of the Balkan nations, should this idea be implemented practically, as well as its influence on international relations on a regional European and even broader scale.

The conversion of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone would grant the Balkan countries and peoples guarantees against a possible use or threat of use of nuclear weapons on their territory. It would be hardly necessary to prove the exclusive benefit to all Balkan peoples of achieving this objective under the conditions of our nuclear century.

Equally important is the situation that banning the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Balkans would eliminate the possibility of a nuclear arms race among the Balkan countries and the unbearable expenditures and risks of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict related to it.

The creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans would lead to an overall reduction of tension. It would contribute to an overall improvement of the political climate and to strengthening trust among Balkan countries. It would create even more favorable conditions for understanding and for the peaceful settlement of still-existing disputes and unresolved problems among individual Balkan countries and offer extensive opportunities for expanding and intensifying good-neighborly cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and scientific and technical areas; it would accelerate the taking by Balkan countries of other steps in the field of disarmament and for lasting pacification of the Balkan area.

Considered on a broader scale, the implementation of the idea of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans would be a real contribution by the Balkan countries to progress in the European process and would encourage the creation of nuclear-free zones in other parts of Europe and the conversion of the entire continent into a zone free from nuclear weapons--whether medium-range or tactical.

Suggestions submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov played the role of a powerful political catalytic agent in developing the struggle waged by all peace-loving forces in the Balkan countries for lifting the nuclear threat from the

Balkans. The conference of government experts which was held in Athens last January-February was the latest step in the development of this fruitful process. Given political good will and a constructive approach by all Balkan governments the reaching of an agreement in principle on the creation of a nuclear-free zone would not be a distant objective.

In assessing accomplishments over the past 40 years in developing friendly and good-neighborly relations with all Balkan countries, the Bulgarian people have something to be proud of. The results of the efforts made in this respect are of truly historical dimension. They are enhancing the international reputation of socialist Bulgaria as a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and open new horizons for good neighborly cooperation.

"Our country," Comrade Todor Zhivkov states, "will continue to pay particular attention and dedicate all its forces to the development of the Balkan peninsula as an area of peace and security, good neighborly relations, reciprocal understanding and fruitful cooperation."¹² This sincere and effective policy pursued by the NRB is the only correct one. It is most fully consistent with the vital interests of the Bulgarian people and peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such.," Volume 2, p 43.
2. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP Pred X Kongres na Partiyata" [BCP Central Committee Accountability Report to the 10th Party Congress]. Partizdat, Sofia, 1971, p 32.
3. "Konstitutsiya na NRB" [Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic]. Nauka i Izkustvo, Sofia, 1971, p 7.
4. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., Volume 11, p 153.
5. Ibid., Volume 22, p 279.
6. Ibid., Volume 16, p 440.
7. Ibid., Volume 22, p 232.
8. Ibid., Volume 23, p 349.
9. Ibid., Volume 22, p 280.
10. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 31 March 1984.
11. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na PKP Pred Dvanadesetiya Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata," p 148.
12. T. Zhivkov, "The Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic," RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 28 April 1979.